THE LIFE AND WORKS OF AMIR KHUSRU

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THE LIFE AND WORKS OF AMIR KHUSRAU

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To

The sacred memory of Ḥazrat Niẓāmuddīn Auliya
and his favourite pupil, Amīr Khusrau.

بروح خسرو ازین "تذکره" شکر دادم
که کام طوطیٔ هندوستان شود شیرین

ABBREVIATIONS.

B.M.	..	The British Museum Library.
I.O.	..	The India Office Library.
Prolegomena	..	'Prolegomena to the Collected Works of Khusrau', by Nawab Ishak Khan.
Q.S.	..	The Qirān-us-Sa'dain.
R.	..	Risāla (re : the I'jaz-i-Khusrawī).
S.	..	Sipihr (re : the Nuh Sipihr).
S.O.S.	..	The School of Oriental Studies Library.

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PREFACE

It is with full consciousness of its manifold defects that I present this work to the students of Persian literature. Khusrau's name has always been a househoid word in India, and most of us must have become familiar with it in their earliest childhood through his Hindi songs and conundrums. To many of us may have come the urge to know him more intimately. With me it had been a passion from an early age to learn all I could about his romantic personality, and when in 1927 I got a Punjab Government scholarship for study abroad, I eagerly availed myself of the opportunity thus afforded and proceeded to utilize the rich collection of his works in the various libraries in London in my search for details of his chequered life and multifarious activities.

A good deal had, no doubt, been already written on Khusrau, especially in Urdu, and Prof. Habib of the Aligaṛh University had contributed a long and learned article in English to the Aligaṛh Magazine which was later published in book form under the title of 'The Life and Works of Haḍrat Amīr Khusrau'. But I felt that there was still a good deal of scope for a scientific study of this poet, and if my readers think that I have been successful in throwing new and enhanced light on the subject and in giving them a few facts of history that they could not readily find elsewhere, my labours would be amply rewarded. These facts, it will be noticed, have mostly been gleaned from the poet's own writings.

The work was submitted and approved for the Ph.D. degree of the London University in 1929. Since then it lay unnoticed and could not be published on account of various difficulties, mainly financial. The Panjab University Oriental Publicatios Fund Committee, however, came gallantly to my rescue and kindly agreed to defray the expenses of publication from the funds at its disposal. In this connection my grateful thanks are especially due to Prof. Mohammad Shafi of the Punjab University who brought the work to the notice of the members of this Committee. I am also indebted to him for several useful suggestions.

I must likewise acknowledge gratefully the help and guidance I received from my learned tutor, Sir E. Denison Ross, and must not forget to thank Miss M. Browne, Miss E. Beavis, and others connected with the School of Oriental Studies, as well as my friends and fellow-students in London, especially Drs. Hem Chandar Rai, R. S. Tripathi, Zubaid Ahmed, and Saeed Hasan for their pleasant and inspiring company.

It would be well to add here a few words about the transliteration of Arabic and Persian words in this work. The system used is the same as that employed in most standard works on Oriental subjects, except in the case of a few words that have been spelt according to their accepted and familiar forms in English, e.g. the Koran, Sheikh, Leylā, Kaiqobād, etc. Rare cases of irregularity may be noticed in spite of a very careful revision, and for these I crave the reader's indulgence. Place-names, unless very unfamiliar, have not been supplied with any diacritical marks. The following table would explain how some of the Arabic and Persian letters have been denoted:—ت = t, ث = th, چ = ch, ح = ḥ, خ = kh, ذ = dh, ز = z, س = s, ش = sh, ص = ṣ, ض = ḍ, ط = ṭ, ظ = ẓ, ع = (ʿ), غ = gh, ق = q, ه = h. No special sign has been used to indicate the letter همزه (ٔ).

I have tried to make the index as useful as possible but have omitted most of the geographical names. A few important names have only been included.

Lucknow, November 30th, 1934. M. Wahid Mirza.

INTRODUCTION

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSIAN POETRY IN INDIA BEFORE THE TIME OF KHUSRAU

Persian Poetry produced in India has always been looked upon by modern scholars with mild contempt. They consider it to be a counterfeit, a spurious imitation of the genuine products of Shirāz and Ispahan,(1) and consequently it has never received the attention so lavishly bestowed upon the poetry of Persia. Yet, it is a fact that India has produced almost as large a number of Persian poets as Persia herself, and that some of them have left as deep an impress upon Persian literature in general as any poet of the sister-country. Whatever one may say, moreover, about the poetry of later times, it is fallacious to assume that there could be any essential difference in the language or spirit of the early poetry produced in Ganja, Shirāz or Nishāpur on the one hand and Lahore or Delhi on the other, for ever since the Ghaznavid conquest of northern India all these places formed a united whole and the geographical distinctions of the present day did not exist at all. Persia, as we know her to-day, is a much later creation.

When the Ghaznavids established themselves in India in the eleventh century, Lahore became an important centre, politically as well as socially equal to Ghazna itself, and there was a free and profuse inter-course between the different parts of Persia, Afghanistan, Transoxiana, Khorasan, and the Punjab, and the literary language was bound to be the same in all these places. This language, of course, was Persian. Nobles and scholars migrated to the conquered territory, settled down there, temporarily or permanently, and laid the first foundations of the Indo-Persian culture that was to find its highest perfection in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the time of the great Moghuls, and, naturally, these early settlers were the first to produce Persian poetry in India.

To trace, then, the origin of Persian verse in India, we must turn to this age. Unfortunately, very little of the literature of that period has been preserved, and, except in the case of one or two poets, all that has been left of its poetry is in the form of laconic extracts available in some histories and biographies. Among the earliest poets the most outstanding names are those of the two contemporaries, Abul Faraj Rūyani (or Rūni) and Mas'ūd-i-S'ad.

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1 Thus Browne says : 'This Persian literature produced in India, has not, as a rule, the real Persian flavour, the blar as the Irish call it, which belongs to the indigenous product.' (Pers. Lit. under the Tartar Dom., p.107.)

The former, according to Badaoni,[1] was born in Rūyan, a village near Lahore, while according to another version his native place was Rūna,[2] a suburb of Nishāpur, but there is no doubt that he lived most of his life in or about Lahore, which, according to al-'Awfi, was in those days the proudest of all districts ' in its unlimited learning and scholarship '.[3] He is said to have left behind him a diwān of qasidas comprising two thousand ' baits ', most of the poems being in praise of his royal patron Sultan Ibrāhim bin Mas'ūd.[4] Anwari, it is said, had with him always a copy of his diwan, and imitated his style. A jealous rivalry between him and Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd led to the latter's confinement for ten years in the fortresses of Sū, Dhak, and Nāy.[5]

Ma'sūd-i-S'ad was certainly a greater poet than his rival, and according to an old tradition left three diwāns, one each in Arabic, Persian, and Hindi.[6] He was born and brought up in Lahore, for which city he contracted a deep and affectionate attachment.[7] His Persian diwān is the only one of the three that has survived, and shows that even in those early days the poetry of India had reached a very high level. Some of his poems, written in his captivity, are full of deep and stirring pathos. One very fine poem describes his separation from his wife on the occasion of his departure on a journey, and is an exquisite piece of lyrical poetry, rarely equalled in excellence by any Persian poem.[8]

After these two we have a long gap, and it is only in the time of Shamsuddin Iltūtmish that we read of another notable poet, Amir Rūhāni. Little, however, is known about him, except that he came to Delhi from Bukhāra during the Mongol upheaval, and composed qaṣidas in praise of Shamsuddin.[9] But his successor, Shihāb-i-Muhmira or Mutmira,[10] who lived in the time of Ruknuddin bin Iltūtmish, is better known. He belonged to Badaon or Madārān and was recognized to be a master by Fakhr-ul-Mulk

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1 Muntakhabut-tawārikh, I, 37. Cf. also Lubbul-albāb, II, 241; Chahār Maqāla, p. 142.

2 Majma-'ul-fuṣaḥa, I, 70.

3 Lubbul-albāb, II, 241.

4 A copy of his diwan (about 60 foll.) exists in the Brit. M. Library. It comprises qasidas and a few quatrains. Most of the qaṣidas are in praise of Sultan Mas'-ūd b. Ibrahim(d. 508 H.)

5 He was involved in a conspiracy formed by the son of the king. See Chahār Maqāla (pp. 140—145) for a brief biographical sketch.

6 Lubbul-albāb, II, p. 246; Majma-'ul-fuṣaḥa and Khusrau's Ghurra.

7 He says in a poem:—

ای لا و هو رویحک بی من چگونهٔ   بی آفتاب روشن رخشان چگونهٔ

8 The poem is in praise of Maḥmūd bin Ibrāhim, and begins :

روز وداع از در اندر آمد دلبر   لب از تف عشق خشک و رخساره ز خون تر

9 Badaoni, I, 65.

10 The name is given differently by different authorities.

'Amid al-Nūnki (?), who was himself an elegant poet. Specimens of his poetry are preserved in various biographies and Khusrau himself imitated some of his poems.[1] It was, in fact, due to the great fame and renown of Khusrau that so little is known of his poetry, for, in the words of Badaoni, 'after the appearance of the ensign of the king of poets, the poetry of his predecessors became bedimmed like stars at the rise of the sun'.[2]

Shamsuddin Dabir, who later became one of the patrons of Khusrau, was the foremost of the poets in Nāsiruddin Maḥmūd's court. He was a great scholar also, and held a ligh position in the time of Maḥmūd's successor Balban, who appointed him the 'munshi' of the province of Bengal and Kāmrūd under his younger son, Bughra Khān. He was a generous patron of art and literature, and his assemblies were a popular rendezvous of poets. Khusrau speaks of him gratefully in several of his works. Badaoni gives some specimens of his poetry which indicate a very high level of artistic ability.[3]

We now come to the time of Khusrau himself, in which our poet stands head and shoulders above his contemporaries.

The only other poet of first order in this age was undoubtedly his friend Amir Ḥasan, nicknamed 'the Sa'di of India' on account of the purity and flowing simplicity of his ghazals. But even Ḥasan failed to attain the great charm of Khusrau's lyrical poems, while he had absolutely no chance of approaching him in qaṣida or mathnawi. Like Khusrau, he became a devout disciple of Niẓāmudin Auliya in his old age, and died at an advanced age in Daulātābād where he had to go against his will, like so many other inhabitants of Delhi in the reign of the eccentric monarch Muḥammad Tughlaq. He has left behind a diwān comprising qaṣidas, ghazals, mathnawis, fragments, and quatrains.

We learn the names of several other poets of this age from Barni, Badaoni, and Firishta. Thus there were Muayyad Jajurmi, Amir Arsalān Kātibi, Qādi Mugith Hānsawi, Bāqi Khatib, Shihab, Sa'd Manṭiqi, 'Abid,[4] etc. Khusrau often had to complain of the jealous behaviour of the last two towards himself. Little or no traces of their poetry, however, have been left to enable us to judge their merits. But it would be safe to presume that none of them rose to the level of Khusrau, nor, in fact, did any of his immediate successors.[5]

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1 Khusrau says in a qaṣida :

در مداران مست بر خیزد شهاب متمره   بشنود از نغمهٔ مرغان دهلی گر نوا

2 Badaoni, p. 70, seq.; Majma-'ul-Fuṣahā, I, 304.

3 Muntakhab-ul-Tawārikh, I, 94.

4 Or 'Ubaid.

5 The best known of these are Badr Chāchi or Shāshi, the court poet of Muḥammad Tughlaq, and Muṭahhar of Karra, who lived in the days of Firūz Tughlaq. For the latter see my article in the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, Vol. No. 11 (Nov., 1934).

THE LIFE

CHAPTER I

ORIGIN OF AMĪR KHUSRAU

When writing the biography of a literary person, it is impossible to ignore the political conditions of his age; the state of the country and also of the society in which he was born and grew up, in which he imbibed the first ideas that moulded his juvenile mind and helped to mature his genius to its full vigour and bloom. Every man is influenced unconsciously by his surroundings, and a poet or a writer, as he is essentially a thinker and so looks at things more carefully and deeply, turning them over in his mind, trying to draw conclusions from them or to explain them, is influenced much more than a person of ordinary intellect and common insight. In fact the whole character and nature of a writer's work are affected by the events of his epoch and reflect the spirit of the time he lived in. A Homer living in the time of heroes that vied with their gods in courage and power, that were almost demi-gods themselves, would naturally produce an epic like the Iliad that stirs the lifeless heart and infuses into it a spirit to do 'one more brave deed before death', to defy fate, to scorn hardships, and to conquer all obstacles; while a Dante living in an age of decay and disruption, a period of political enfeeblement and moral emasculation, would tend to become more moody, more introspective, more inclined to brood on things beyond this life and to create with his wonderful imagination and sublime genius,not a story of brave deeds and wars, of long voyages and heroic adventures, but a morbid tale of heaven and hell.

Mutanabbi[1] and Abū Tammam[2] saw with their own eyes the heroic deeds of their patrons, their 'holy' wars, their successful contests against their enemies, and so their poetry is manly and heroic: it almost has in it the ring of the spear, the twang of the bow, and the clatter of the sword. But what could one expect from Abū Nuwās[3] or Abul-'Atāhiya,[4] who lived in a time when the kingdom of Baghdad was flowing with'milk and honey', when the sword

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1 A bu'l Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbi, for a long time a favourite courtier and poet-laureate of Saifuddaula, the Ḥamdāni of Aleppo, has sung his patron's praises and his fights against the Franks in many a glowing ode. See Nicholson : Lit. Hist. of Arabia, pp. 304—313.

2 Abū Tammam lived in the time of the caliphs Māmūm and M'utasim. See Nicholson, pp. 129—130.

3 Abū Nuwās, the court poet and boon-companion of Harūn-al-Rashid. For his life and poetry, see Nicholson : Lit. Hist. of the Arabs., pp. 292—296.

4 A contemporary poet. See *ibid.*,pp. 296—303.

had been hung up and the armour stowed away and in the court of the caliph one heard only the pleasant melody of the rebāb or the amusing jokes of jesters like Abū Dulāma? What could one expect from them except an effeminate poetry, lyrics descriptive of love and pleasure, of the charms of the beautiful damsels, and the virtues of the glittering red wine, or unhealthy, sad, and melancholy tirades on the vanity of this life and the need for 'dying before death'? Both these poets, so different apparently are characteristic of their age. Abu Nuwās is happy and careless because he could enjoy the pleasures that surrounded him, while his unlucky contemporary, unable by nature and circumstances to partake of them, could only console himself by preaching a crusade against them[1].

This, true as it is in the case of writers of all ages and countries, is especially so in the case of most of the Eastern writers, for in the East, more than elsewhere, literature and art have always flourished under the fostering shadow of kings and their vassals. Most of the Eastern poets particularly were no more than bards; bards of a very high genius and lofty imagination very often, but all the same bards. Their chief care was to sing the praises of their patrons to raise them up to the skies, to immortalise, as they would say, their names. No doubt they have also produced poetry of a much higher order than such panegyrics, poetry as full of love and emotion, of deep human feeling and universal appeal as could be found anywhere. Yet it has to be admitted that this sort of poetry was only a subordinate branch, a foster-child, a product of the few stolen moments when the poet for a short while ceased to be a courtier, put off his khil'at and laid his 'asā in a corner and was a man more than anything else.

Yet it would be wrong to imagine that these high-flown and roseate panegyrics are worthless. Apart from their aesthetic value as wonderful specimens of artistic sense, elegant taste, and mastery of language, they are in many cases of great historic importance. They very often describe, not only how the king or the noble slaughtered single-handed a whole army of his vile foes, or how his horse scarcely deigned to tread on the sordid earth and vied with the north wind in swiftness, or how his throne was placed so high that thought itself had to pile up the nine skies one above another ere it could kiss its pedestal[2], or how his bright visage shamed the moon and compelled the sun to hide its ugly face among the clouds—but also they describe, albeit

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1 It is said that Abul-'Atāhiya was a meagre, short, and ugly man. Mas'ūdi relates a humourously pathetic story about his love for a beautiful slave-girl. See Mas'ūdi (Barbier de Meynard) VI, pp. 240—244 and 333.

2 Thus Zahir says of Qizil Arsalan :

نُهْ کرسی فلک نهد اندیشه زیر پای   تابوسه بر رکاب قزل ارسلان دهد

often in a very coloured and distorted way, some of the real historical events that actually took place before or during the lifetime of a poet. Such poems are of immense importance for augmenting the historical data necessary to re-construct the history of a particular period, and make it, at the same time, more than ever, imperative for a student of their authors to study carefully the history connected with their times.

In the case of a poet like Amir Khusrau, then, whose life was intimately connected with kings and princes, who lived to see the reigns of more than seven kings, accompanied several of them in their campaigns and held offices under at least five, we shall, of course, have to consider the political history of his time, — to follow briefly the chain of events extending over a little more than three-score years, since about 1253 A.D. (the year of his birth) to 1325 A.D., when the old monarch Tughlaq Shāh was mysteriously killed by the fall of a pavilion built for his reception by his son and heir, Mohammad Tughlaq.

But to commence our narrative we must go back about a hundred years and study some of the events that occurred outside India, the land of his birth, but which were destined to exercise a profound influence on its history, for Amir Khusrau's ancestors came to India from Central Asia, Transoxiana or Khorasan, a land that was, so to say, the cradle of an upheaval unparalleled, perhaps, in the history of the world.

Chengiz Khan, the 'Curse of God' as Muslim historians describe him, rose from Transoxiana in the first half of the thirteenth century with his wild hosts, his lean, bony, wolfish soldiers clumsily dressed, ill-equipped, riding on horses 'that looked like donkeys', and shook to its very foundations the whole Islamic world.[1] The Mongol hosts conquered all before them. They came, they slaughtered and burnt, they destroyed and devastated, and left the rich plains and fine valleys of the Islamic countries like a field over which has passed a storm of locusts. Mosques were defiled, palaces razed to the ground, and libraries full of precious manuscripts consigned to fire. One Islamic monarch alone, the gallant Jalāluddin of Khwārizm, who succeeded his ill-starred father Muhammad Khwārizm Shāh, waged a long and determined struggle, as heroic as it was desperate, against the Tartar fury. Khwārizm Shāh's dominions

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'Thought places, under its feet, the nine celestial chairs so that it may bestow a kiss on the throne of Qizil Arsalān' and Khusrau replying says of 'Alā-ud-din Khalji:

اندیشه کی رسد که ببوسد رکاب شاه　　　گر بوسه بر رکاب قزل ارسلان دهد

'How can thought ever reach the spur of (my) king to kiss it : it may have kissed the throne of Qizil Arsalān.'

1 See Browne : Persia under the Tartar Dom., p. 5, seq. and V. I, pp. 197—198. See also Tārikh-ul-Fakhri. (Ed. Ahlwardt) p. 97.

extended over 'a large area from the Ural Mountains to the Persian Gulf, and from the Indus almost to the Euphrates and included the whole of Persia with the excepton of Khuzistān and Fārs'.[1] Bit by bit, however, he was forced back. City after city fell before the irresistible Tartar onsets and the gallant monarch had to flee to India to save his life, whence he returned to enjoy a brief spell of power only to meet a sad death in 1231 A.D. at the hands of a Kurdish mountaineer.[2]

Now, as we know, Chengiz Khan's vast empire, founded on the ruins of the old civilization, comprised among other regions Transoxiana, situated mainly between the Sir and Amu rivers, but including also on the north-east the hill-ranges and steppes lying beyond the right bank of the Sir, east of the Kipchak plains and west of the lakes Issigkul and Alanor. Towards the east the empire included the greater part of the country now known as Chinese Turkestan, Farghāna or Khokhand, and Badakkhshān, while towards the south it embraced Kunduz, Balkh, and at the outset Khorasan, 'a country which at that time spread eastward and beyond Herat and Ghaznin, and southward to Makran. This was perhaps the most extensive appanage of all and within its limits were to be found the greatest variety of races and tribes and the largest diversity of modes of life. It comprised, on the one hand, some of the richest agricultural districts peopled by settled inhabitants far advanced in Asiatic civilization and some of the most flourishing cities in Asia, while on the other hand, some of the rudest hill-tribes or Hazāras as they were called then, had their homes in the southern highlands'.[3]

It was these hill-men or Hazāras that swelled mostly the Tartar armies of Chengiz Khan. But we must not suppose that the term Hazāra denoted any particular race. Thus in the Tārikh-i-Rashidi we find Hazāra used for hill-men or mountaineers without reference to its original meaning (which we shall presently consider) or to any racial consideration. In fact as Raverty[4] explains Hazāras were not a tribe but simply soldiers of Chengiz Khan's army recruited from various tribes, Moghuls or Turks, divided into groups of one thousand each, and so 'hazāra' is merely a Persian or Tazik rendering of the

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1 See Browne : Lit. Hist. of Persia, II, 426.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 447. For a contemporary account of this gallant monarch see the history written by his secretary and attendant Muhammad al-Nasawi, translated and edited by O. Houdas. ('Histoire du Sultan Djelaleddin Mankobirti.' Paris, 1891, 2 vols.)

3 Tārikh-i-Rashidi (Ed. Elias and D. Ross), p. 30.

4 Raverty : Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri, pp. 1093, 1094, 1095, and Index.

term 'ming' (a thousand).[1] Chengiz Khan's army, for instance, consisted of several such divisions. It is probable, however, that these Hazāras had descriptive names derived either from the names of their chiefs or of the particular region to which they belonged. Raverty, thus, mentions the names of several of the Hazāras that were to be found in Chengiz Khan's armies, and Ḥamdullah al-Mustawfi makes mention of the Hazāras of Shādi and Aughān as living in the north and south of Persia respectively.[2] This, again, shows that the term 'hazāra' was neither a racial or ethnological nor a topographical designation but indicated simply a certain type of nomadic people, generally warlike, chiefly employed as soldiers and sending quotas of thousands to their over-lords at the time of war.

But we cannot say definitely that the term, as Major Raverty explains it, was applied simply to the clans who formed the armies of Chengiz Khan or even that it originated in his time. It is quite possible that this appellation was known before this time, that 'hazāra', like another ambiguous term Turk, which we shall consider presently, embraced in its wide application a certain class of warlike tribes who were generally in the service of warring potentates. In fact the name 'hazāra', essentially a Persian and not a Turkish or Mongol word, would suggest that the term probably did not originate during the time of the Tartar conquests, for there appears to be no reason why the chroniclers of the Mongols should have changed the Turki 'ming' into the Persian 'hazāra' when they have retained in their works so many Turki words that could more conveniently, and also, perhaps, more reasonably be substituted by their more familiar Persian equivalents.[3] I am, therefore, on the whole, more inclined to interpret hazāra as a common designation of a large number of tribes, whose chief occupation was agriculture and pasturing and who furnished soldiers on the occasion of fights among their suzerains, and who, long after they had ceased to send their quotas of 'thousands' to their masters and had settled down in countries far away from their original homes, still retained their old designa-

1 Re the derivation of the term from 'hazār' (a thousand) it is interesting to note a verse of Amir Khusrau himself : (Ind. Off. MS. of Kulliyāt, No. 1187. fol. 637*b*) :

گر ز کافر بود هزار سوار   چشم تو میر آن هزاره بود

'If there be a thousand paynim horsemen, thy (wicked) eye would be the chief of that "hazāra".'

2 Ḥamdullah : Tārikhi-Guzida (Gibb. Mem. Series), pp. 66, 67, 69 and pp. 704 and 709.

3 See, for instance, the words, جر نغار and بر نغار and قول so commonly used by Persian historians, and hosts of other Turki words.

tion and in some cases also gave it to the country in which they happened to settle down.[1]

Now almost all the biographers of Amir Khusrau agree that he belonged to a hazāra clan named Hazāra-i-Lāchin and that he was of Turkish origin.[2] Amir Khusrau himself nowhere mentions that he belonged to a hazāra clan, which is not strange; for as we have already seen 'hazāra' was not any racial or ethnographical designation and was hence hardly worth much importance. He, however, says explicitly on various occasions that he was a Turk and that his ancestral profession was military service.[3] His very title, 'Turkullah'[4] (The Turk or Soldier of God[5]) bestowed upon him by his religious preceptor, the saint Niẓāmuddin Auliya, shows that the poet was of Turkish origin.

We need not enter here into any long discussion about the exact signification of the term Turk, especially as it has been so well and lucidly discussed in the Introduction to the Tārikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Ḥaider Dughlat by Elias and D. Ross.[6] We may only explain here that the term has been indifferently used by the Persian hsitorians in a dual sense. It is sometimes employed in an ethnographical sense and denotes a certain race which apparently inhabited parts of Central Asia, Transoxiana, Khorasan, etc., at the time of the Mongol invasion and supremacy, and which in physiognomy and other personal and social features and characteristics differed considerably from the Mongols.

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1 Note, for example, the Hazāra country in India. See Imp. Gaz. of India Vol. XIII, p. 76 seq., and Ency. of Islam, V. II, pp. 297—298. Curiously enough some authorities misled by the fact that 'hazāra' is both the name of a people as well as a country have stated that Amir Khusrau's ancestors came from 'Hazāra'. See, for instance: Sprenger Cat. of Oudh. Kings Lib., p. 465 and Ency. of Islam, Vol. II, p. 980.

2 See Daulat Shāh, p. 238; Jāmi : Nafaḥāt-ul-Uns (Ed. W. Nassau Lees. Calcutta, 1859), p. 710 ; Khizāna-i-'Āmira of Āzād (Brit. Mus.), p. 209; Dārā Shikoh : Safinat-ul-Awliya (Agra, 1853), p. 168; Gulzār-i-Ibrāhim (Brit. Mus. MS.), fol. 262 ; Haft Iqlim of Amin Rāzi (India Off. MS.), etc. etc.

3 See, for instance, I'jāz-i-Khusrawi : (Risāla, IV, p. 97) :

'Although I by birth a Turk and a soldier ......'

and again in the Munāẓara of the pen and the sword (*Ibid.*, *Risāla*, V, p. 40).

"خسرو تو ترکی و از گوهر سیفی . . . الخ"*

4 Khusrau, alluding to this title, says, addressing his preceptor :

بر زبانت چون خطاب بنده ترک الله رفت   دست ترک الله بگیر وهم باللهش سپار

'As you have been pleased to call your servant the "Turk of God", hold his hand and give him in God's custody ! '

5 It should be noted here that the word 'Turk' is often used in the sense of a soldier, thus Mars, the God of War, is often called : 'Turk-i-falak', 'the Turk of the Sky'.

6 See Tārikh-i-Rashidi : Lond., 1895, pp. 72, seq. (Introduction).

On the other hand the term is very often used in a sociological sense and covers all the nomadic people of Central Asia who lived in steppes and hills, as opposed to Tājiks or Tāziks, the civilized town-dwellers. Even Turkish writers like Abul Ghāzi have made this dual use of the word,[1] and it is interesting to note that even in modern times in Turkey the word 'Turk', or rather 'Turuk' seems often to have been employed in the sense of a peasant or boor, perhaps like the Arabic word 'A'rābi'.[2] In the case of Amir Khusrau's ancestors, then, it is possible that they may have been Turks in either of the two senses of the word. That they are described as 'Hazāras' would suggest a nomadic origin, but at the same time, although unfortunately we have not much material to form a definite idea of the physiognomy of the poet or of his ancestors, it is certain that they were not Mongols—were quite different from the 'uncouth barbarians', whom Khusrau ridicules so severely and humorously in his sketch of the captive Mongols brought to the court of Kaiqobād.[3] They were, in short, Turks in the generally accepted sense of the word; they belonged to the original inhabitants of Turkestan,distinct from the Mongols.

We shall now consider briefly the name Lāchin or Lājin, as it is sometimes written. Lāchin, a Turkish word meaning a falcon, was quite a popular name among the Turks of Central Asia. Most of the biographers describe Lāchin to be the name of the tribe to which Khusrau's father belonged, but according to some it was the name of his father. Amir Khusrau says little more about his origin than that he was a Turk, but he frequently styles himself as 'Khusraw-i-Lāchin',[4] literally 'Khusrau of Lāchin', which may mean 'Son of Lāchin', for this sort of 'iḍāfat' is very often used to denote the father's name, the usual 'ibn' (= son) being omitted. Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, for instance, means Mas'ūd, son of Sa'd, son of Salmān.[5] But, as Mirza Muḥammad explains, the following name may be not necessarily that of the father, but of the grand-father or a still more remote ancestor also.[6] It is more likely that the latter is the case with the name Khusrawi-Lāchin, for Khusrau mentions his father on various occasions as Saif or Saif-i-Shamsi, and at one place as

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1 See *ibid.*, pp. 84 and 89 (Introduction).

2 Thus Bianchi, in his dictionary, says: 'Turcs, peuple des Turcs ou des Turcomans ; Turc, Turcoman ; Rustre, grossier, barbare. Le Turcs de l'empire Ottoman ne veulent pas se appeller de ce nom, mais de celui de عثمانلو

3 See infra.

4 See, for instance, I'jāz-i-Khusrawi, II, p. 242, and *ibid.*, V, letter 2, where he adds also Sultāni to his name.

5 See Chahār Maqāla (Ḥawāshi by Mirza Moḥd.), p. 142.

6 Concerning this 'iḍāfat' see also Raverty's interesting article in Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri, Vol. II, Appendix.

Sulṭāni-i-Shamsi,[1] but nowhere does he give his name as Lāchin. This last was apparently the name f a chief of the clan to which Khusrau belonged, probably that of an ancestor of his, who gave his name to his tribe. Khusrau, according to Sultan Ḥusain Mirza and Jāmi,[2] belonged to a noble family and so it is most probable that Lāchin, the head of the tribe, was his direct ancestor, a grand-father or perhaps a great-grandfather.

The next point that attracts our attention is the question: where did these Hazāras of Lāchin live before they left their ancestral home and migrated to India, and at what time did they, or Khusrau's father, come to this country? Most of the biographers assert that the original home of the tribe, or at least its home at the time of the Mongol upheaval, was near Balkh,[3] the 'Arch of Islam'. But a few, notably Daulat Shāh, declare that the tribe had its original home in Kish or the environs of Qarshi and Pymurgh.[4] Daulat Shāh says: 'Amir Khusrau was of Turkish descent. It is said that his ancestral home was Kish, now known as the Qubbat-ul-Khaḍrā[5] (The Green Dome), while some say that he belonged to the Hazāras of Lāchin who were living in the environments of Qarshi and Pymurgh and that during the disturbed times[6] of Chengiz Khan, these people fleeng from Māwarā-un-Nahr came to India and settled in Delhi. Amir Khusrau's father was the chief and leader of these people.' Now Kish,[7] or more correctly Kishsh,now generally known as Shahr-i-Sabz (not Qubbat-ul-Khaḍra as Daulat says) stands on a small stream known as Kushka Darya that runs almost parallel to the Sughd river, both ending in marshes. In the middle ages, according to Ibni Haukal, it had a castle, was strongly fortified, and occupied, exclusive of its suburbs, a square mile of ground, the Kish territory extending over four days journey across in every direction and being famed for its fertility. In the fourth century of the Hijra the city stood on the main stream of the river now called Kushka that was

1 Dibācha of Tuḥfat-ul-Ṣighar. See infra.

2 See Nafaḥāt-ul-Uns (Ed. W. N. Lees, 1859), p. 710.

3 See *Amin Rāzi* (Haft Iqlim : Ind. Off. MS.); *Gulzār-i-Ibrahim* (Brit. M. MS., fol. 262) ; *Safinat-ul-Awliya* (Dara Shikoh : Agra (1853, p. 168); *Khizana-i-'Amira* (Āzād Bilgrami : B.M., pp. 209 seq.).

4 *Daulat Shāh* (p. 238) and *Ātashkada :* Lutf Ali Āzur, Bombay, 1175, p. 341.

5 Surely Daulat Shāh has here paraphrased the popular name of Kish, Shahr-i-Sabz. I can find this name in no other book. See, Note on Kish on the following page.

6 فترات.

7 See Le Strange : Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, p. 469. See also the following note: Prof. Habib in his 'Life and Works of Khusrau' converts the name into 'Takash' (p. 6). There is no place of that name in Māwarā-un-Nahr. Takash was the title of one of the Khwārizm Kings, Il Arsalān.

known by the name of Nahr-ul-Qaṣṣārin which arose in the Jabl Sayām. Nahr-i-Arsūd, running to the north, was crossed, one league beyond the road to Samarqand, by Jāy Rūd; the Kushk Rūd ran to the south, one league from Kish; while another stream Khizar Rūd lay eight leagues beyond this. These streams after irrigating the various districts around Kish flowed together and became a single stream which passed by the city of Nasaf or Qarshi. In later days Kish acquired fame as the birth-place of Timur, who rebuilt the city, and whose palace Āq-Sarāi in it was his favourite residence.[1] It was about this time that the city became known as Shahr-i-Sabz (The Green city). Qarshi[2] or Nasaf was situated, as we have noted above, more than a hundred miles down stream below Kish. It has generally been called Nasaf by the mediaeval Arabs and Nakhshab by the Persians. It was a Mongol prince Kapak Khān, who after the Mongol invasion (13th cent. A.D.) built a palace here and gave it the name of Qarshi. This city also had a strong castle and extensive suburbs. The third name mentioned by Daulat Shah, viz. Paymurgh, is certainly a misnomer for Māymurgh, mentioned by Arab geographers as a suburb of Kish.

All these places of course are in the country known as Māwarā-un-Nahr or Transoxiana, and so if Daulat Shāh is to be believed, the Hazāras of Lāchin lived in this country. But the bulk of the evidence supports the theory of a home in or about Balkh. Thus Jāmi, a contemporary of Daulat Shāh, and

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1 For Kish. See Le Strange (Camb., 1905), p. 469, and Ency. of Islam, V. II, p. 786, where the name is transcribed as Kash, the reason advanced being that in old histories it is often made to rhyme with 'dilkash' charming. That phrases like کش دلکش, etc. often occur in those histories, is true. See for instance Yazdi: Zafar Nameh (Bib. Ind.), p. 301 جلکهٔ دلکش کش and p. 801 جلکای دلکش کش and V. II, p. 18:

ولی اصل آن لشکر کینه کش ز توران زمین بد به تخصیص کش

But I prefer the reading Kish or Kishsh as given by the old Arab geographers. There is no harm in reading کش as the alliteration aimed at still holds good and in the verse cited above 'Kina Kash' can be read 'Kina Kish'. According to Yazdi the city became known as Shahr-i-Sabz on account of the fertility and greenness of the lands in and around it in spring (p. 301, V. I) and that as a home of learning and scholars it was known as 'Qubbat-ul-'Ilm'. It is these two names which Daulat Shāh apparently confuses into 'Qubbat-ul-Khaḍrā'. Timur built the 'White Palace' in it in 781 H. (See *ibid.*).

2 For Qarshi: See Le Strange, p. 470. Qarshi in Mongol dialect means a palace. See also Ency. of Islam, V. II. Nakhshab, of course, is the famous place where al-Muqanna' is said to have created the artificial moon, called Māh-i-Nakhshab.

Sultan Ḥusain Mirza Bāiqara, both hold the latter opinion, and it is further strengthened by what we have already mentioned about Khorasan, namely that it was the home of the nomadic tribes who lived in its hills and steppes and were known as Hazāras. This would give Amir Khusrau a Khorasan origin, which I am reluctant to assign him, for it is evident from so many sarcastic remarks in his works about Khorasan that the poet was not particularly fond of that country. He ridicules it, describing it as 'hell' in winter,[1] he ridicules the people, the 'bālāis',[2] as he often calls them, and he ridicules their language or rather the various dialectic peculiarities met with among them. He praises, on the other hand, the language of Māwarā-un-Nahr likening it to the Persian employed in India[3] of which he speaks so proudly. It is possible, perhaps, that this bitter sarcasm for Khorasan arose out of his burning zeal for his adopted country, or rather the country adopted by his father, that he was like the new convert who is loud in praise of his new creed and equally vehement in denouncing the one he has discarded. But I am inclined to agree with Daulat Shāh on this point. The description of Māwarā-un-Nahr given

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1 سیر سرما بہند باید کرد   کہ خراسان بود جہنم سرد

'Winter should be enjoyed in India, for Khorasan (in winter) is a frozen hell.'

2 Bālā was the name by which the Indian writers generally designated the northern provinces, Balkh, Bukhāra, etc. and so Khorasan, whence 'Bālāis' the inhabitants of Bālā. In later times this word was substituted by 'vilāyat' and 'vilāyati' denoted a thing or a person belonging to Kabul or Qandhar or to some place further north. But curiously enough in common parlance nowadays vilāyat is synonymous with Europe and especially England.

3 This statement of Amir Khusrau is interesting from a linguistic point of view. He remarks elsewhere that the Persian used in India is the Pārsi-i-Dari. Now we know that the language of Transoxiana and also, perhaps, that of Khorasan has been described by old geographers to be 'dari'. al-Maqdisi, for example, (de Geoje, p. 314) says of the language spoken in Bukhara : 'As to the language of Bukhara, it is the same as that of Sughd, only there are slight variations (تحریف بعضها), and they speak the Dari language'.

Thus Amir Khusrau is probably referring to this language when he speaks of the similarity between the languages of India and Transoxiana. On the other hand he says of the Khorasanis that they have got no standard language and no settled idiom. To use his own words : The Khorasāni says chi (چی) for چہ, while some say 'Kajū' for 'Kuja' ...... but the Persian speech in India from the river Sind to the sea-shore (i.e. the extreme south) is one tongue....and this Persian of ours is the original (or pure) Persian. پارسی دری . (See below and also the Introduction.)

Pārsi-i-Dari, on the other hand, also means 'pure Persian'—the original language without any intermixture or variations, and as such has been described to be the language of the blessed ones in Paradise. The Prophet is said to have declared that 'the language spoken in Paradise will be Arabic or the Dari Persian'. (See Persian Dictionaries like Burhān-i-Qāti., etc.)

by historians and geographers, a country inhabited by Turks, handsome, brave, generous and soldiers by birth, would induce one to regard it as the home of a warlike people like Khusrau's ancestors. Al-Iṣtakhari,[1] for instance, says of its inhabitants, after a description of their generosity and hospitality: 'As to their courage and bravery, there is not among the Islamic peoples any with a greater share of fighting against the infidels, and that is because all boundaries of Māwarā-un-Nahr are formed by the lands of the unbelievers,. . . .and also it is well known that there is no people among the Moslems braver than these Turks—they are the rampart and bulwark of Islam against the (infidel) Turks. . . . With all this, they are the best of people in paying obedience to their elders and the most gentle in serving their superiors and their equals. It was this that induced the Caliphs to send for men from Māwarā-un-Nahr, and their armies consisted of Turks on account of the latter's superiority over all classes of men in point of courage, formidability, bravery, and 'elan', and the peasants of Māwarā-un-Nahr were their generals, their attendants, and their favourite servants.'[2]

In my opinion, therefore, the original home of the Lāchin Hazāras was in Transoxiana. Being generally a nomadic people, however, they may have moved on to Balkh in Khorasan, possibly during their migration to India. Thus starting from somewhere near Kish, the tribe apparently first came to Qarshi and then lower down to Balkh, whence they ultimately proceeded further south and crossing the Indus entered India early in the thirteenth century as we shall presently see.

With the meagre information at our disposal concerning this tribe, we cannot form any idea of the exact time of this migration into India, but we know definitely that Khusrau's father was in the service of Shamsuddin Il-tūtmsh.[3] We have reasons also to believe that his people had been in India

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1 Al-Iṣtakhari, pp. 286-87.

2 That Māwarā-un-Nahr continued in much later times to be a rich mine for soldiers and warriors, eager to get an opportunity for offering their services to ambitious princes, can be seen from what the author of Kitāb-i-Yamini says (Tr. Reynolds, Lond. 1858, p. 450) while describing Mahmūd Ghaznawi's preparations for the conquest of Kannauj : 'In those days nearly 20 thousand men had come from the plains of Māwarā-un-Nahr through zeal for Islam and they sat down waiting for the sultan's movements, striking their numerous swords and uttering the shouts of holy war'. See also infra and the verse quoted above from Yazdi, i.e.

ولی اصل آن لشکر کینه کش   ز توران زمین بد به تخصیص کش

'But the main source of that ferocious army was Turkestan especially Kish' (of Timur's army) also illustrates the point in question.

3 See infra. The name of this king is spelt otherwise in various ways : Altmish, Altimish, Iltimish, Iyāl-timish, etc. But the reading il-tūtmish may be regarded as finally established by the following verse of Amir Khusrau in which the exact translation is given, namely 'he has seized the world'.

جهان بقوت او میگرفت التمتش   که بر کشیده خدایش ز قبضهٔ قدرت

for some time before he went to the capital and offered his services to that prince. Daulat Shāh, while describing Jalāluddin Khwārizm Shāh's flight before the Mongol armies and his brief career in India after the famous dash through the boiling waters of the Indus accompanied by only a few faithful survivors of his armies, says that a number of the Lāchin Hazāras, to whom belonged Amir Khusrau's father, joined him (Jalāluddin) and (together) they conquered the fortress of Kargasbāl.[1] This statement unfortunately is not supported by any other authority, but there is no reason why we should doubt Daulat Shāh's assertion. Several Hazāra tribes, in fact, had migrated to India during the time of Chengiz Khan's conquests and settled in the north western provinces. Thus although Abul Faḍl asserts that the Hazāras of India were brought to that country by Amir Timur,there is evidence to believe that they had settled there in much earlier times, and that Amir Timur only sought their help in his campaign in India and formed his garrisons out of them.[2] It is quite likely that the Hazāras, a warlike people and Turks by descent, should have sided with their kindred people, the followers of Timur. As a matter of fact, they were always eager to offer their services as mercenaries to suitable patrons. It is quite likely, therefore, that the Hazāras of Lāchin had settled in the north-west parts of India along with other Hazāras before Jalāluddin crossed the Indus[3] and that looking upon him as a hero and a bulwark against the heathen hordes, their common enemy, they were glad to join him in his distressed condition and to help him in securing for himself a temporary refuge in India. In any case it is certain that these Hazāras came to India during the time of Chengiz Khan and some of them moving further south-east sought employment with the Sultan of Delhi, Shamsuddin Il-tutmish, and among these latter was Khusrau's father Amir Saifuddin Maḥmūd.

The Mongol fury, thus, that wasted countries and upset thrones, that wrenched crowns off the heads of 'kings descendants of kings' and pulled

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1 Daulat Shah: Tezkira, p. 146. No other historian mentions the name Kargasbāl. I think that it is rather the name of some petty Hindu chieftain (bāl being a misnomer for pal) than that of a place.

2 See Ency. of Islam, Vol. II.

3 This event occurred in the year 619. See Tārikh-i-Jahānkushā (V. I, p. 107), and al-Nasawi (Ed. O. Houdas), pp. 85, seq. of text and p. 141 seq. of translation (Vol. II.). Note that al-Nasawi mentions several Turkish tribes who had joined the army of Jalālud din. According to him Jalāluddin fought Zāna (probably a mistake for Rāna) Chatra, Shatra of Jūdi (Koh-i-Jūd) and then Nāṣiruddin Qubācha of Multan. See also Raverty (V. 1, p. 293, N. 5.); Habeeb-us-Siyar (Vol. II, part IV, p. 187) and Elliot (II. 549). Shatra is evidently a misnomer for Sumra, as the Sumras ruled parts of Sind at that time.

down palaces and castles sacred for centuries, so that the sound of their fall resounded all over the world, hurled, in its wild career, a handful of simple warriors from their peaceful abode to a strange land, and thus, incidentally, gave to India a poet the like of whom she had never produced before and in all probability will never produce again.

Khusrau's father, whom the poet as we have seen above styles simply as Saif-i-Shamsi, or Sulṭāni-i-Shamsi, was named Amir Saifuddin Maḥmūd, and as he belonged to the tribe of Lāchin he seems often to have been designated 'Amir-i-Lāchin.'[1] In India he settled down at Patiyāli,[2] a small town in the district of Etah, otherwise known as Muminpore or Muminābād, by which in those days flowed the river Ganges, but which is now miles away from the river, and entered the service of Shamsuddin Il-tūtmish, the second of the Slave kings of India, whence he acquired his sobriquet of Shamsi.

Shamsuddin Il-tūtmish, the favourite slave of Quṭbuddin Āybek,[3] himself a slave of Mu'izuddin bin Sām Mohammad, the Sulṭān of Ghaznin and his trusted vice-regent in India, had a wonderful career. Bought as a slave with another Turk for a hundred thousand jitals[4] by Quṭbuddin Āybek, he soon won the favour of his master and was appointed Sarjāndār.[5] Later he was promoted to be Mir-i-Shikār[6] (the master of the Hunt), and obtained successively the fiefs of Gwaliyār, Baran, and Badaon and won for himself other honours and distinctions through his conspicuous bravery during his master's campaigns against the latter's enemies.

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1 See for instance the anecdote, related by various authorities, given below.

2 Raverty (T. N. Trans., p. 551n) gives the position of Patiyāli as lat. 27° 41 and long. 79° 40. Abul Faḍl (Āin-i-Akbari; Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 35) mentions the town in the sircar of Kannauj. That it was situated on the Ganges in the old days is proved by what Amir Khusrau says of it (Dibācha Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl: Ind. Off., MS.): 'For a few days ....stayed in the fortified town of Muminpore commonly known as Patiyāli on the bank of the Ganges'. Badaoni (I. 43) says : Patiyāli ....a town (موضعی) on the bank of the Ganges and the place where Amir Khusrau was born and brought up....' See also Dāra Shikoh (Safinat-ul-Auliya) who gives the other name Muminābād and describes Patiyali to be a dependency of Sambhal ; and Garcin de Tassy (Lit. Hind.), Vol. I, p. 299 ; Gulzār-i-Ibrāhim, f. 262.

3 Sir D. Ross has pointed out to me that Āybek meaning moon-lord would very well render the Sanskrit name Chandra Gupta.

4 This and most of the following facts about this king I have borrowed from Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī.

5 For Sarjāndār, see infra.

6 *Mir-i-Shikār*, quite a respectable post, corresponding to the modern 'Master of the Hounds', or the chief Gamekeeper.

Qutbuddin Āybek dying at Lahore in the year $\frac{607\ \text{H.}}{1210\ \text{A.D.}}$ he was summoned by the nobles from Badaon[1] to assume the management of the kingdom. Setting aside Āybek's son Ārām Shah, he soon ascended the throne of Delhi, stabilized the dominions, defeated his rival Nāṣiruddin Qubācha and drove him to Multan, over-powered and imprisoned Sulṭān Tājuddin Yuldūz, another strong Turkish chief, and reduced to submission the ruler of the far-off province of Lakhnauti, Sulṭān Ghiyāthuddin 'Iwaz Khalji. The strong fortress of Rantambhur and Mandu (Mandawar)[2] fell before his armies in 623 H. and the Hindu rajahs were compelled to pay homage to his rising star. Finally, Malik Nāṣiruddin Qubācha was hunted down to his retreat in Multan and Uchcha and the unfortunate chief ended his life by a desperate leap from the fortress of Bhakar into the river (Indus), thus leaving his successful rival the sole monarch of the country of 'Hind and Sind' as far as the shore of the sea.

Shamsuddin, a brave and generous monarch, welcomed to his capital many of the unfortunate people driven from their homes by the Mongols. 'Towards men of various sorts and degrees, Qadis, Imāms, Muftis, and the like, and to darweshes and monks, land-owners and farmers, traders, strangers, and travellers from great cities, his benefactions were universal. From the very outset of his reign and the dawn of the morning of his sovereignty in congregating eminent doctors of religion and law, venerable sayyids, maliks, amirs, ṣadrs, and (other) great men, the Sulṭān used, yearly, to expend about ten millions; and people from various parts of the world he gathered together at Dihli.... This city, through the number of the grants and unbounded munificence of that pious monarch became the retreat and resting place for the learned, the virtuous, and the excellent of various parts of the world.... And those who by the mercy of God the most High escaped from the toils of the calamities sustained by the provinces and cities of 'Ajam and the misfortunes caused by the irruption of the infidel Mughals, made the capital of that sovereign, their asylum, refuge, resting place, and nook of safety.'[3] Thus says Minhāj-i-Sirāj in his Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri, while describing the reign of Shamsuddn Il-tutmish. And among these numerous refugees who found a shelter and a home under the fostering care of this generous sovereign was

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1 Badaon, as we have seen, was his special fief before he became king.

2 All these places we shall have occasion to mention later on and so may be left without comment here.

3 T.N. (Tr. Raverty, Vol. I, pp. 598-599).

Amir Saifuddin Maḥmūd who linked his own fortune, and probably those of his followers, to the growing might and prevailing sway of the slave Sulṭān.

We do not know what position Amir Saifuddin Maḥmūd held exactly, but we do know that he was an Amir,[1] held a respectable position in the army, and was also probably granted some fief in Patiyāli. Very little is known about his career in India and his name is not mentioned by any of the contemporary or even later historians. But, if Amir Khusrau is to be believed, he must have been a man of no insignificant position, for the poet asserts: 'Il-tūtmish conquered the world with his (Saifuddin's) help, for he was a sword drawn by God from the scabbard of His might'.[2] His marriage with the daughter of 'Imad-ul-Mulk,[3] an important official during the reigns of Shamsuddin and his successors, would also suggest that the Amir held a high and honourable position in the court of the king. He seems, moreover, to have taken an important part in the various wars his master waged against his enemies. Khusrau himself supplies the only information that has been handed down to us concerning his father's career. In his Dibācha to the Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl he says: 'My father, Saif-i-Shamsi, who with his bright visage was the sword of the sun,[4] was famous for his bravery. A Turk is an angel only in a dream,but he was an angel when awake. Nowhere but in a dream could one see an angel coming from Bālā. The qualities of an angel were so deep-

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1 Amir, or Emir, meaning originally leader or commander, is the same as the Latin Amiratus, Amiratus (whence the word Admiral). It is often abbreviated to Mir in Persian. (See Ency. of Islam (Vol. I.) According to Barni he got an allowance of twelve hundred tankahs annually. (Barni, p. 197.)

2 (Dibācha of

جهان بقوت او میگرفت التمتش   که بر کشیده خدایش ز قبضهٔ قدرت

Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl.)

It is interesting to note here that Khusrau is evidently punning upon the phrase 'jahān giriftān 'and 'il-tūtmish', which, as I have tried to explain above, may be construed to mean 'world-conqueror' or 'jahāngir'. He says in the 'Ashiqa (S.O.S. MS., p. 57).

. . . . زمشرق چتر شمس الدین بر آمد   که همچو صبح دو می شد جهانگیر . . . .

His contemporary and friend Amir Hasan says in his Fawaid-ul-Fuād (B.M. MS., fol. 82): 'the Sheikh mentioned the date (of the death) of Sulṭān Shamsuddin and recited this verse):

بسال ششصد و سی و چهار از هجرت   نماند شاه جهان شمس دین عالمگیر

'Ālamgir and Jahangir being, of course, equivalents.

3 'Imād-ul-Mulk enjoyed the greatest amount of power and influence during the reign of Ghiyāṭhuddin Balban and we shall have to speak about him in detail later on.

4 i.e. the shaft of the sun,or the sun-beam, punning on Saif-i-Shamsi.

rooted in his nature that he never reddened his eye[1] even for the sake of a black-eyed houri. He was rich[2] in worldly goods and (with his piety) was a 'wali' (saint)[3] in matters celestial.'

This meagre information, coupled with a few more facts, supplied again by the poet himself, of which we shall avail ourselves later on, is all that we possess about Khusrau's father. The author of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri gives a fairly lengthy list of the important Shamsi 'Maliks'. Among them we find several with the name of Saifuddin,but it is impossible to identify any of the latter with Khusrau's father.[4] This omission is due probably not so much to the fact that Amir Saifuddin Maḥmūd was not a person of sufficient importance to be included in a list of the notables of his time as to the peculiarly circumlocutional and somewhat desultory style of the historians of that age. They would fill pages after pages with the praises of a king or a noble to whose bounty and favour they happened to be personally indebted, and ignore other names and persons whom they had no such cause to pay attention to. Shams-i-Sirāj does not even mention 'Imādul-Mulk, while, if we believe Barni, he was already a man of high rank in the days of Shamsuddin.[5]

CHAPTER II

Birth and Early Youth; Career under the Reigns of Balban and Kaiqobād.

Amir Saifuddin Maḥmūd, as we have said above, settled at Patiyāli and

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1 'Chashm Surkh Kardan dar chizī', to be anxious or eager to get something, to hanker after a thing or person, Khusrau uses this idiom very frequently, and so also his contemporary Ḥasan.

2 'āmir būd',meaning, of course, both rich and as having the title of Amir.

3 صاحب ولایت again a pun, for ولایت means both the state of being a wali or saint, as well as a country or province whence wāli,a governor.

4 Among these maliks is one Malik Saifuddin Binkhān (?) Āybek Khitāi whom I was almost tempted to identify with Khusrau's father, for he is described as a man extremely good-natured, gentle, polite, and pious and at the same time famous for his bravery and courage. He is said to have met his death by a fall from horse-back in the reign of Nāṣiruddin Maḥmūd, and as we shall see Khusrau's father also died during this monarch's reign. But the following facts make an identification impossible : (1) The titles 'binkhān' and Khitāi are found nowhere with Amir Saifuddin's name. (2) He was not bought as a slave by Shamsuddin as this malik is said to have been. (3) One of this malik's sons is said to have died by drowning in the Indus while with his father in a campaign near Multan. As far as we know none of Khusrau's brothers died during the life-time of his father. (4) The author stops his narrative at the 15th year of Nāṣiruddin's reign(658 H.) which means that the malik must have died before that date, but Khusrau's father, as we shall see. died about the year 660 H. (see T.N.,V.I. Text, P.259.)

5 See infra.

married the daughter of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. Three sons were born to him of this union: (1) 'Izzuddin 'Ali Shāh, (2) Abul Hasan Khusrau,[1] and (3) Husām-uddin Qutlugh.[2] We do not know the date of birth of either of his two brothers, but Khusrau was born in the year 1253 A.D. (651 H.) at Patiyāli[3] according to several of his biographers, and the date can easily be verified by a reference to the various remarks the poet makes about his own age in the course of his writings.[4] Of the three brothers the eldest was certainly 'Izzuddin 'Ali Shah, for according to several authorities he succeeded his father in office on the latter's death, and Khusrau's own writings prove this to be a fact. It is uncertain, however, which of the other two, Khusrau and Qutlugh, was the younger. It seems probable that Qutlugh was the youngest, for Khusrau speaks of him in a tender and loving strain[5] as behoves an elder brother, while of his other brother 'Izzuddin 'Ali Shah he always speaks with a certain amount of respect and veneration.

We do not know also whether Khusrau had any sisters, for the Eastern biographers generally do not bother themselves about the female relatives of a person: they are considered to be either too insignificant to be mentioned or too sacred and inapproachable to be brought into the glaring and unholy light of publicity, and unfortunately the poet himself is also silent on this point.

Amir Mahmūd, a true soldier and Turk, honest and simple, was himself illiterate.[6] Born of a race of warriors whose sole occupation, probably, for centuries back had been the rearing of herds and tilling of soil, who left their flock of sheep and goats, their simple rude cottages and their fields and plough-

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1 Amir Khusrau's full name has been given by some authorities as Abu'l Hasan Yaminuddin Khusrau. The poet always gives his name only as Khusrau or Sultāni or Khusraw-i-Lāchin, etc.

2 Qutlugh, meaning 'mubārak' or auspicious in Turkish. Khusrau mentions this name in 'Leylā and Majnūn', but in the lithographed edition it has been corrupted into قلغ (see Majnūn-o-Leylā, p. 61).

3 Curiously enough Wālih Dāghistāni in his Tezkira says that Amir Khusrau came to India as a child with his father. Khusrau's own words in Nuh Sipihr are a sufficient contradiction of this absurd statement. He says of India: 'This land, of all the world, is the place of my birth, my refuge,and my motherland'. (Nuh Sipihr,III, p.43, seq.)
"هست مرا مولد و ماوای و وطن"

4 For instance in the Dibācha to Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl he says: 'From the year 685 when I was 34 years of age to the months (شهور) of 693 when I am 43 years old......'

5 See Majnūn -o-Leylā, p. 61, and infra. See also Ode 35 (I.O. MS. 1187, fol. 104*b* seq.), where he speaks of Husāmuddin Qutlugh as the younger brother.
"برادر خورد"

6 Dibācha of the Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl, "اگرچه امی بود . . ."

shares only to wield the lance, to ply the bow and to manipulate the shield in hot and furious contests, it is not strange that he should have been ignorant of those arts which are best cultivated in the genial and fostering atmosphere of towns and cities, where men congregate in their thousands to trade and work, to rule and serve, to learn and instruct. Yet like a sensible man and a thoughtful father, he could appreciate well the advantages accruing from a knowledge of letters. He was now in India in the court of a monarch whose throne was already surrounded by savants and scholars fleeing from their homes and seeking shelter in India; he was in a city[1] which was fast becoming the centre of a civilization and culture as high and as potent as could be found in the ancient capitals of Bokhara or Baghdad, Damascus or Cairo, and he could not but be affected by what he saw around him. In his manifold duties as a courtier as well as a soldier, he met daily great divines and jurists, big grammarians and poets, and formed friendships with them. Perhaps he felt a little uneasy about his own ignorance. Wisely he made up his mind to give the best instruction possible to his sons to train them not only in the arts of war, but also in those of peace, to make them not only soldiers but also scholars so that they may have the best opportunities of competing with their contemporaries and of rising to positions to which a mere soldier could never aspire.

Khusrau seems to have been his special care, for the boy, truly a precocious one, showed very early signs of a literary bent of mind, and so, according to the poet himself, 'all his father's ambition was focussed on one thing, namely that the son should achieve literary proficiency.[2] Of the other two sons, 'Izzuddin 'Ali Shah also later distinguished himself as a scholar,[3] but Ḥusām-uddin seems to have been more inclined towards the ancestral profession and after a preliminary course of instruction, seems to have drifted more and more from the field of letters to that of battle.[4] But we shall have occasion

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1 Amir Maḥmūd settled in Patiyāli, not far from Delhi and he lived, apparently, mostly in Delhi, for it was there that Khusrau received his early training.

2 Dibācha Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl : "همه همتش بر آن منحصر بود که من بیحاصل تحصیلی کنم"

3 Thus Khusrau mentions him as a great scholar of Arabic and Persian in the Dibācha Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl.

4 This is evident from what Khusrau says of him in the passage in Majnūn-o-Leylā referred to above. He says : 'In horsemanship like a bold falcon......he knew full well the art of battle and the king gave him the title of Ḥusām (uddin) (=sword of the faith). In attack he was brave like his father, not like me whose sword is broken. As he learnt so well the art of his father, he also betook himself to his land (i.e. the land of the dead or martyrs). He gave his life to the pleasure of his father's soul, but all the sorrow fell on my heart.'

to speak of these two later on, and shall for the present try to follow more closely the early years and training of the poet.

Amir Maḥmūd having determined to give his sons the full benefit of education, such as it was understood to be in those times, arranged for their instruction. In those days, as in much later times, in India and other eastern countries, there were generally two courses that could be adopted by a father desirous of educating his children. The young children were either sent to one of the 'maktabs' or primary schools, small unpretentious institutions situated generaly in the precincts of a mosque or a saint's tomb, and presided over by the imām of the mosque or some other venerable pedagogue of the neighbourhood, or, if the father happened to be a well-to-do and prosperous man, he engaged certain scholars to attend to his children's education in their own home. The preliminary training thus imparted generally consisted of a knowledge of the Koran and theology, reading and writing of Persian, a smattering of Arabic, some logic and grammar, and was often supplemented by an instruction in some of the fine arts, chiefly calligraphy and poetry. As the boy grew up, he could always find opportunities, provided he had the will and the means, of augmenting his knowledge either by attending the seances of literary men, where scholars met and discussed the various sciences,[1] or by undergoing a regular course of instruction in one of the colleges, or madrassas as they were generally called; or, in some cases, by devoting himself to an assiduous study of the writings of old scholars, whose books, though rare, could often be procured in manuscript form.

Amir Maḥmūd, as we have already seen, was a fairly prosperous man and could well afford to arrange for the best means of instructing his children. Khusrau was sent to a maktab at a very early age and some scholars were engaged to teach him at home also. The bright boy made rapid progress with his studies, but he was born a poet and had imbibed an extraordinary passion for poetry from his very cradle. In fact, the tradition would have it that great achievements in that art were promised to him from the time of his birth. It is said that when he was born his father wrapped him up in a cloth and took him to a saintly person so that the child might receive his blessings.

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1 Thus Omar Khayyam says:

'Myself when young did eagerly frequent
Doctor and Saint and heard great Argument
About it and about :—but evermore
Came out by the same door as in I went.' (Fitzgerald, XXVII).

No sooner did the saint see the baby than he cried out: 'O Amir Maḥmūd, you have brought to me one who shall surpass Khāqāni himself!'[1]

While, then, the teachers dinned into his ears the sonorous verses of the Koran and the eternal bellicose transactions between the hypothetical 'Amr and Zaid, his young mind, sensitive to the beauties of nature around him, roved far away to the land of imagination and fancy, and his bright eyes wandered away from the dull pages of Panj-Ganj or Hidāya to some small latticed window of the maktab through which he could see the green trees, the blue Indian sky, the birds hopping about and filling the air with their melodious twitterings.

Of these early days the poet says himself:[2] 'My father used to send me to the "maktab" for study, but I repeated only rhymes, and my learned teacher S'aduddin Mohd., the calligraphist, popularly known as the Qāḍi (God's mercy be upon him), tried to teach me calligraphy, while I composed verses about the silken down on fair faces.[3] In spite of the persistent efforts of my teacher, continuous and long like the tresses descending from head to foot on the back of a beauty, I would not renounce my infatuation for the locks and the mole.[4] As a consequence, at that tender age I began to compose verses and ghazals that roused the admiration and wonder of my elders.'

Finding all efforts to divert the pupil's mind from poetry fruitless, and in the course of time recognizing his great genius and extraordinary aptitude for it, the teachers seem to have not only let him have his own way, but to have actually encouraged him. They felt a reasonable pride in the prodigious genius of their young charge, very common in old days when the teacher looked upon his pupil as his own son; when the relations between the two were far closer and more affectionate than in these days, and when the teacher regarded the fame and renown of his pupil as reflecting glory and shedding a lustre upon himself. Khusrau soon became their favourite. The boy was petted and encouraged. He was held up as a prodigy before the astonished eyes of savants and doctors, and accompanied his teachers in their visits to

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1 The story has been related by Firishta and other biographers. It is probably, a myth and I give it for what it is worth. But essentially there is nothing impossible about it. Even to-day children are taken in India to saints or even to their tombs. Some mothers would even take their new-born babes to such parents as have been fortunate in their progeny, and lay them at their feet, seeking thereby a happiness, similar to theirs in their own offspring.

2 Dibācha of Tuḥfat-ul-Sighar. The passage is in very ornate style and I have rendered it rather freely. The reading in the MS. (Ind. Off., 1187) is also not very correct.

3 A pun upon the dual sense of the word 'Khaṭṭ'

4 Khāl, the black beauty-spot, natural or artificial, on the face of a woman.

literary gatherings and the houses of the nobles. Thus happened an incident that the poet describes in his own words.[1]

'One morning Khwāja Aṣil, the Kotwal, sent for my teacher Khwāja Asaduddin) to have a letter composed by him. My humble self and my respected teacher, together with the ink-pot and the pen-case, reached the house (of the Kotwal). In the house of that honoured personage happened to be living in those days Khwāja 'Izzuddin, a great scholar who possessed a good knowledge of poetry also. As we reached there, the Khwāja held in his hand a book of verses[2] and was busy in its perusal. He was bringing out from its depths the bright pearls and glittering gems (of poesy) for the behoof of his audience. My teacher said to him: "This small boy, my pupil, soars high to the very stars in his (poetic) skill: let him recite a verse or two. Give him the book and let us mark carefully how he manages to recite the verses therein." Khwāja 'Izzuddin handed the book to me and I began to read out. I recited each verse in a tremulous and modulated accent, so that my melodious recital rendered all eyes tearful, and astonishment surged on all sides. My teacher then said: "The recitation of verses is easy (?). He should be tested with the composition of a verse in order that his natural brilliance may shine out like a mirror." Khwāja 'Izzuddin, thereupon, tested me with four discordant things, namely, hair, egg, arrow, and melon.[3] In the presence of all the people in the assembly, there and then I composed the following verses:

"Every hair in the tresses of that beauty has attached to it a thousand 'eggs' (i.e. grains) of amber. But do not consider her nature to be as straight as an arrow, for like the melon the teeth (i.e. the seeds) are concealed within.'[4]

'When I recited this quatrain the Khwāja praised me abundantly and asked me my name. I told him it was Khusrau. Then he asked me the name of my

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1 Dibācha of Tuhfat-us-Sighar.

2 Probably a 'biyāḍ' or a manuscript collection of verses by various masters. Such collections were very popular in India till recent days, and most of the literary men or others fond of poetry,possessed a 'biyāḍ' with selections from their favourite poets.

3 That is, asked him to compose verses wherein these four things with no apparent connection should be appropriately mentioned. This was a popular method of testing poetic skill. Another way was to ask one to complete aptly a verse, given the first line or a quatrain whose three lines had been composed by some other poet or poets. See, for instance, the story related about Firdausi who was tested by the eminent poets of his age. (Browne : Lit. Hist. of Persia, II, 129).

4 هر موئی که در دو زلف آن صنم است — صد بیضهٔ عنبرین بر آن موی ضم است

چون تیر مدان راست دلش را زیرا — چون خربزه دندانش میان شکم است

father and I gave it as Sulṭāni-i-Shamsi. Then he spoke out thus: "As thy father's name is linked with kings, thy pen-name also should be Sulṭāni . . . . . for therein lies a good augury. No poet, however, well he may have established his sway (in the realm of poetry), has achieved anything worth more than a 'dirhem'. A Sulṭāni in our days, however, is worth two dirhems,[1] and you may rest well assured that your fame in the land of poesy will reach so high that you will be appreciated and valued by men twice as much as other poets".'

This was perhaps the first public appearance of the budding poet, his first step towards that wide fame which he was destined to achieve, and was the first pledge and token of that appreciation and homage that he was to receive from successive generations of admirers. We can well imagine him returning home with an exultant heart, a light foot, and a glowing eye, to narrate the whole event with modest pride to his brothers and parents.

The boy was now firmly set on the path of poetry and he proceeded with vigour apace. But very soon he had to face the first great sorrow of his life. His fond father, always so solicitous for his welfare and education, met his death in one of those numerous campaigns in which he was so often engaged, and in Khusrau's words, 'gave up his life to drink the bitter draught of martyrdom so sweet to his taste, and to quaff the goblet of immortality promised in the verse: "Nay, they are alive and by their Lord".'[2] His father thus left him an orphan of eight years.[3] He naturally felt the loss heavily and thus laments his father's demise:

'Saif passed away from me, leaving my heart cleft in two. The tears roll down like a flood from my eyes and I remain like a solitary pearl.'[4]

His father, however, by his care and concern, had already engrafted in his young mind the value and importance of learning, and when the boy had

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1 The poet did actually adopt the suggestion and many of his earlier poems have this pen-name instead of Khusrau.

2 Dibacha Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl. The words are from the Koran, where it is said of those who die fighting for their religion : 'Don't think those who die in the cause of God to be dead. Nay, they are alive(and live) by their Lord.'

3 See infra.

4 Dibacha Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl:

سیف از سرم برفت و دلم بس دو نیم ماند　　دریائ من روان شد و دُرّم یتم ماند

The poet here plays upon the word یتیم which means an orphan, while durri-yatim' is a 'unique pearl', the like of which cannot be found, and uses 'Saif' also with a similar double meaning.

become an old man and his fame had 'seized the four quarters of the globe', he could not but acknowledge with a fond and sad gratitude: 'In my clay is the seed planted by him, and it is now blooming forth.'[1]

Of his poetical achievements at that early age, he says: 'I was then eight years old, but in my swift poetic flights I trod upon the celestial spheres. In that tender age when my milk-teeth were falling, I composed verses that dropped from my mouth like bright pearls.'[2]

Khusrau's father died about the year 659 H.[3] Shamsuddin Iltūtmish was long dead by this time and his youngest son, Nāṣiruddin Maḥmūd, was on the throne of Delhi. Kings had come and gone in quick succession after the powerful Slave Sultan's death, and the country almost up to the year 644H. was more or less in a state of anarchy.[4]

Shamsuddin's eldest son, Nāṣiruddin Maḥmūd (the Elder), was a brave, generous and capable prince, and had achieved great renown during the lifetime of his father by his successful campaigns in Oudh, where he conquered and killed a powerful Hindu chief, Bartū, and in Lakhnauti against Ghiyathuddin 'Iwaḍ Khalji, whom he also defeated and put to death. He would perhaps have proved an able and strong successor to his father, but he died during the latter's lifetime, and so Ruknuddin Firūz Shāh, the second son of Iltūtmish, came to the throne in 633H. He was a weak and dissolute man, given to wine and women, and squandered his fathers treasures,[5] leaving the government of the country to his mother, Shāh-i-Turkān,[6] a Turkish slave-girl. Shāh-i-Turkān's jealousy prompted her to perpetrate several cruel outrages on her rivals, the other wives of Iltūtmish, and her step-children. This roused widespread indignation, and nobles and governors all over the country rose in open rebellion. The governors of Multan, Lahore, and Badaon joined forces and marched towards the capital. As the king marched out to meet them, the citizens of Delhi, enraged by his mother's doings, and especially her attempt

1 Dibācha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl :

2 *Ibid.*

3 For the poet, as we have seen above, was born in 651 H., and he was, according to his own version, eight years old at the time of his father's death, which gives us the year 659.

4 The greater portion of the following historical review is based on the text of Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri.

5 Khusrau says of him ('Ashiqa S.O.S. MS., pp. 56-57): 'He emptied all the Shamsi treasuries.'

همه گنجینهٔ شمسی تهی کرد

6 The name is generally written without ,iḍāfat', but I think 'Shāh-i-Turkān' (= the queen of the Turks) is a better reading.

to put to death Raḍiya, the favourite daughter of Iltūtmish, rebelled, and captured the queen. All the Turkish chiefs then agreed to enthrone Sultāna Raḍiya, who became the first and last queen of Delhi in 634 H. Ruknuddin was imprisoned, and soon after died in captivity.

Raḍiya, a brave and capable queen, who rode on elephant and horseback in male attire, to the scandal of the religious bigots, exercised a good deal of power and influence even during the reign of her father, who is said to have nominated her as his successor in spite of the protests of his nobles. She ruled the country well, and managed to subdue the grumbling and discontented Turkish chiefs and to restore order in such provinces as Rantambhur and Gwaliyar. But her partiality to an Abbyssinian, Amir Yāqūt, estranged several Turkish chiefs. Amir Maḥmūd Altūniya,[1] the governor of Tabarhinda, marched on Delhi and captured the queen. She later married her captor, and together they advanced towards Delhi to regain the throne which had already been occupied by her brother Mu'izuddin Bahrām Shāh, but they were defeated. Deserted by their followers after the defeat, they fell into the hands of Hindu jāts who murdered them.[2]

Sultan Mu'izuddin Bahrām Shāh, who was crowned king in 637 H., was cruel and hard-hearted, although very simple and unassuming in his manner and dress. His tyranny and ill-treatment of high officials made all the nobles suspicious of him. They joined together against him, revolted in Delhi in 639, and put the king to death. The unfortunate prince's brief reign was also marred by the capture and destruction of Lahore at the hands of the Mongols in 639, and the wholsale slaughter of its inhabitants.[3]

Mu'izuddin was succeeded in 639 H. by Ruknuddin Firūz Shāh's son, Alā'uddin Mas'ūd Shāh, a generous, virtuous, and accomplished prince who started his reign well by releasing from confinement his uncles Nāṣiruddin and Malik Jalāluddin, and winning the confidence of his nobles. The Mongols, who invaded India twice in his time, were successfully repulsed. But a change soon came over him. He became more and more inclined towards

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1 One of the famous forty Turkish slaves of Iltūtmish. Most of the troubles after Shamsuddin's death were due to the rivalries and ambitions of these Turks.

2 Khusrau is full of admiration for the unfortunate queen. 'The good-natured daughter Raḍiya decorated the throne.... For some months her sun-like face was concealed in the cloud of the veil.... but as many affairs could not thus be properly dealt with, she discarded the veil. Her might and prowess compelled brave men to bow before her. For three years, when her fortune was in the ascendant, no one could find any fault with her......' (S.O.S MS. of 'Ashiqa, pp. 56-57).

3 Khusrau (*ibid.*) says of him : 'For three years he also quaffed the goblet of pleasure like Behram of yore.'

pleasures of the wine-cup and the chase, lost his old good qualities, and neglected state affairs. The nobles,conspiring against him, imprisoned the king and called upon Nāṣiruddin Maḥmūd, the youngest son of Iltūtmish, to assume the reins of government.

Sultan Nāṣiruddin Maḥmūd was proclaimed king in the beginning of the year 646 H. Pious and virtuous, gentle and meek, simple and unassuming, Nāṣiruddin ruled for twenty-two years with unique success, thanks chiefly to his able lieutenant Ghiyāthuddin Balban who, with the titles of Ulugh Qutlugh Khān, was the real power behind the king. Balban fought the Mongols for his master, leading expeditions against them every year, and restored order and peace in the frontier provinces by effectively barring the inroads of the Mongols and supplying the fortresses with strong garrisons. He subjugated the refractory Indian princes and thus gave to the kingdom a strength and a unity that it had not seen since the time of Iltūtmish. The king himself, meanwhile, passed his life in piety and simplicity. His wife cooked for him, while he copied the Koran, calligraphy being a favourite hobby of his, or busied himself in the study of books. Balban continued to serve his master during the latter's long reign and piloted the state safely through rebellions, conspiracies, and the Mongol menace till the year 1266 A.D., when Nāṣiruddin died a peaceful death.[1] During this long time Balban had never swerved from the path of loyalty, and with his tact and ability had won for himself a high repute, so that when on his master's death, he assumed the royal black canopy[2] nobody grumbled or dared raise a voice against him.

Ghayāthuddin Balban, a slave and compatriot of Iltūtmish, was descended from the princely house of Albari[3] Turks. It is related that he was short and ugly and that Shamsuddin at first refused to buy him when he was brought to him with other slaves. 'For whose sake have you bought all these slaves?' asked Balban of the Sultan. 'For mine own, of course', replied the king. 'Then buy me for the sake of God!' appealed Balban. The king was amused and touched.[4] He bought the slave, who very soon proved by his mettle and prowess that the king had not made a bad bargain. He was enrolled

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1 Ibn Battūtta's assertion that Balban murdered his master is unsupported by any other evidence.

2 The Turkish Sultans of Delhi apparently borrowed black as the emblem of royalty from the Abbasid Caliphs, for 'chatri-siyāh' was among them the special emblem of royalty. See infra.

3 Or Ilbari, a tribe of Turkestan. See Raverty, T. N. (Tr. p. 800 n.). It would appear from his notes that Iltūtmish also belonged to the same tribe. Sir D. Ross has suggested that the name Albari is a compound word Alp-ari = a brave man (Alp = brave; ar = man. Turk).

4 See Ibn-i-Baṭṭūta (Defremery, iii, 171-2).

subsequently in the famous corps of 'the forty' and rose to high positions. Iltūtmish's daughter, Sultāna Raḍiya, made him her chief huntsman. Later he began his brilliant campaigns against the Mongols and it was due mainly to his organization and skill that they were defeated and repulsed in the reign of'Alāuddin Mas'ūd Shāh.

When, therefore, in 664 H., the strong and experienced man took in his hands the reins of the kingdom, 'the capital of Delhi acquired lustre and brilliance, state-affairs and the welfare of the kingdom were properly attended to; his reign gave a fresh strength to the kingdom and matters that had weakened and got disturbed and confused were put under due control again. With his strong laws and his sound opinion he brought the multitude as well as the elite of the country under his subjection, and his majesty and might were deeply impressed on their mind. Through his abundant justice and mercifulness, he made all his subjects attached to his Government, and the people who, during the thrity years after the death of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltūtmish, on account of the inexperience and folly of his children and the usurpation of power by the ill-advised Shamsi slaves, had become disobedient and self-willed, perching on every twig, and creeping under the protecting wings of any pretender, living as they pleased and losing all respect for kingly prestige, so essential for the peace and order of the world, became submissive and obedient from the very first year of Balban's reign. They renounced their truculent attitude and selfish ways, and gave up their heedlessness and insolence'.[1]

So writes Barni, and we may well understand this change in the attitude of the people, for it is certain that the old monarch ruled with an iron hand, wisely and justly no doubt, but at the same time with a sternness that in some cases bordered on cruelty[2]—that was, perhaps, essential for those disturbed times. He was very particular about the selection of his officials, and gave all responsible posts to men of noble descent, experienced and faithful, generous and brave, and 'to any worthless, idle, miserly, and greedy man he never gave any high office'. He had the greatest concern for the splendour of his official life, for he thought it to be very important in establishing the royal prestige. Thus Barni says of his cavalcade: 'He had appointed many Sistāni "pahlwāns"[3] on sixty and seventy thousand jitals,[4] who placing naked

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1 Barni, p. 28 (Bib. Ind.).

2 His execution of the defeated generals returning back to Delhi from Lakhnauti shows this clearly. See infra.

3 'Pahlwan', in the general sense of a strong athletic man, not necessarily a wrestler as commonly interpreted in India in these days. Sistān is the name of a district or province in Khorasan.

4 Jiṭal or Chital, a small copper coin.

swords on their shoulders used to escort him, and when the king rode in a cavalcade his bright face shone and the naked swords glittered. With the brightness of the sun, the flash of the swords, and the brilliance of his face, the charm (of the cavalcade) was enhanced a hundredfold. The eyes of the onlookers filled with tears and were dazzled, and they talked of this sight in wonder and admiration'. Of his durbar he says: 'In his general durbar there stood in order the wardens,[1] the chamberlains,[2] the armour-bearers,[3] the guards,[4] the 'sahm-ul-ḥashams',[5] and their lieutenants, the 'ch ushes',[6] the 'naqibs', and the 'pahlwāns', while on right and left were stationed elephants and caparisoned horses. The king with his face bright as the sun and his white beard like camphor, sat on the ornamented throne with an air and a pose that made all hearts tremble. There stood behind the throne the special servants and confidants,[7] while the 'shahnas' of elephants[8] 'sarjāndars' and chief armour-bearers, the masters of the stable and the amirs of the slaves, stood right and left, and their subordinates also stood there according to their ranks. The cries of the 'sahm-ul-ḥashams' and 'chāushes', and the shouts of the 'naqibs' could be heard from a distance of two kurohs[9] and those who heard them quaked with fear. If in the court there happened to be ambassadors from far-off places, 'rāis', or 'rāizādas', or other chiefs coming to pay homage to the king, they most often fainted and collapsed'.

In splendour and majesty Balban surpassed even his master Shamsuddin Iltūtmish, and although his harsh discipline and stern gravity could not tolerate the presence of a musician or a jester in his court, he often held big and splendid assemblies wherein were found figured carpets, coloured dishes, gold and silver vessels, gold-embroidered screens, foliage and flower decorations, various kinds of fruit and dishes, sherbets and tanbūl (i.e, betel-leaf), and where music was played and poets recited panegyrics. He was very

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1 Nuẓẓar, pl. of Nāẓir—a watch-keeper, warden.

2 Hujjab, pl. of Ḥājib—a door-keeper, chamberlain.

3 Silāḥdar—a man whose duty it was to carry the arms of a great personage when the latter marched in procession or sat in court.

4 Jāndār, for which see note on Sarjāndar.

5 Sahmul Ḥasham, a member of the royal cavalcade.

6 Chāush or chāwush was an officer very much like a herald, and a 'naqib' was not very different from him.

7 'Muqarrabān' which may also mean 'relatives'.

8 'Shahnah' means literally a vice-regent or representative and commonly denotes the prefect of police or a mayor. It is not known what rank a 'shahnah' of elephants had in those days. He was probably one of the officers in charge of the royal elephants.

9 Kuroh, a measure of length, now commonly called 'Kos' in India.

fond of wine when he was a malik and a khān, but he renounced it on becoming king.[1]

The splendour of his reign was enhanced by the existence in those days of several great and knightly maliks, 'the wonders' as Barni calls them, great scholars and poets, skilful musicians and physicians, expert artisans and craftsmen.

Foremost among the maliks was 'Alāuddin Kishlikhān, Ullugh Qutlugh Mubārak Bārbek,[2] the nephew of the Sultan, who was famed far and wide for his generosity and had' surpassed even Ḥātim Tāyy in his munificence'. Poets and musicians came to him from the farthest corners of the country and got rich rewards for singing his praises. He was at the same time the foremost man of his time in playing polo and in hunting, so that his fame spread even to countries beyond Khorasan, and it is said that Hulagu himself was so impressed by what he heard about him that he invited him to his court and promised to give him half of Iraq if he came there, and that his uncle was not a little jealous of the nephew's wide popularity and renown.[3] He held the office of Chief Chamberlain to the king and was often, in consequence, styled 'the great Bārbek'.

Another great malik was Malik-ul-Umarā, Fakhruddin, the Kotwal[4] of Delhi, who was noted for his deeds of piety and charity. It is related of him that he kept constantly engaged twelve thousand men to recite the Koran, changed his dress on each of the three hundred and sixty days of the year giving away the discarded one to poor and needy people, and even his bedstead and bed-sheets were changed every day. Each year he provided dowries for a thousand poor maidens.[5]

Amir 'Ali, sarjāndār, the cousin of Balban, known as Hātim Khān on account of his generosity, was another of the prominent maliks, whose gifts never fell short of thousands. He was a great devotee of the wine-cup and bestowed lavish gifts when under its influence. Balban once said to him: 'O 'Ali, I hear you bestow "something" while intoxicated in your wine-parties. I should consider you to be generous only if you give anything when you are

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1 Barni, p. 46.

2 This is the most correct form of the name, which has otherwise been written as Kushlikhān, but nowhere Kushilkhān as Prof. Habib writes (Life and Works, p. 6). See T. N. Ulugh, Qutlugh are simply titles. Bārbek is the Turkish synonym of Amir-Hājib (Chief Chamberlain). In Rieu (Pers. MSS. V. I, c. 240) the name is given as Kishlu Khān Jumhūr, the second being probably a corruption of Jhūjū or Chijjū, a title of this malik, and he is described as the brother of Sultan Ghiyāthuddīn.

3 Barni, p. 113 sq.

4 Kotwal, the prefect of police, but with more extensive powers

5 Barni, pp. 117-118.

sober'. From that day the Khān renounced wine and his gifts became more lavish.[1]

And among the maliks was 'Imādul-Mulk, the maternal grandfather of Khusrau, now the Rāwat-'Arḍ.[2] He had held for thirty years the onerous post of 'Arḍ-i-Mamālik, and even now, though nominally in charge of the royal horse, he carried on the functions of 'arḍ-i-mam lik also.[3] As Khusrau says: 'He was one of the four props of the throne, and although he had no regal insignia, he held the emblems of authority.[4] With his wide generosity he held the whole of Hindustan in the palm of his hand and did the real work of Government from behind the screen, contenting himself ostensibly with the office of an 'Ariḍ so that the jealous mischief-makers may raise no trouble. Wonderful rāwat-'arḍ who, in managing the affairs of the whole Indian kingdom, displayed such sound opinion that whenever he desired he could reverse a 'rāi' and make him a 'yār' (friend).'[5]

The duties of the rāwat-'arḍ, as far as we can gather from contemporary narratives, were primarily the supervision of the cavalry which formed the bulk of the regular army in those days, and the examination from time to

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1 Ibid., pp. 118-119.

2 A curious appellation. Rāwat, rāut in Marahti and 'rāvat' in Gujrati, means a horse solder, a trooper, a horse-keeper. Rāwat-'arḍ, then, is equivalent to 'Ariḍ-i-Rāwat or 'Ariḍ-i-Sipāh, as Khusrau designates him in one place, and 'Ariḍ (from 'Arḍ) means one who presents, hence supervises and controls. But it is not clear why 'Ariḍ-i-Rāwat should be changed into Rāwat arḍ by Barni. 'Arḍ could, of course, denote the name of the post of an 'Ariḍ or of his office (diwān) but not the officer himself. Perhaps it is a case of transposed iḍāfat, 'āriḍi-rāwat being changed into Rāwat-Ariḍ and the second word being shortened into 'Arḍ. Or it may be the Turkish form Rāwat-Ariḍi which has been contracted into rāwat'-arḍ.

3 'Arḍi-mamālik, Prof. Habib translates as 'war-minister'. (Life and Works, p. 6.).

4 اگرچه نشان سلطانی نداشت سلطان نشانی داشت an ambiguous sentence. My translation is only conjectural. 'Sultân-Nishânī dâsht' may mean 'he had the power of enthroning kings' or 'was a king-maker'.

5 Rāi is written as رای and if the letters are reversed the word becomes یار. The poet evidently means that he could win any refractory rāi over to his side with his sound policy, playing upon the double meaning of the word رای. It is interesting to note here that 'Imādul-Mulk himself was probably of Indian origin, for Khusrau calls him in one place the 'Black 'Āriḍ'. He says :—

زنسل عارض اسود منم آن نسخت معنی   کزاصل خویشتن یک یک نشانی باز دادم من
سوادی بود آن ناز کترین دیباچهٔ دولت   ز نوك کلك تقدیر و بیان آن سوادم من
خسانرا میکنم غرق و گهررا میدهم عبره   ازان ابر سیه بین طرفه دریائی که زادم من

time of the horses and equipments of the soldiers. He did his work with great energy and honesty, and with an almost paternal generosity. He would increase the stipends of any cavalier whom he found well-equipped at the time of the terminal parades and reward him handsomely. If a cavalier happened to lose his horse through an accident, he would console him and help him to buy another, or would give him one from his own stable. If he found a horse ill-fed and was satisfied that its master could not afford to feed it properly, he would change it for a strong, stout horse of his own or give the man a large sum of money for the proper maintenance of the horse.

Annually he used to invite all the officials of the 'Arḍ-diwān to a grand and sumptuous feast and bestowed on them rich dresses. He supplied from his own kitchen food for all his subordinates. Fifty to sixty trays heaped with white bread, roast mutton, pigeons, chickens, and other viands, with liqueurs,[1] sherbets, and betels, were served at each meal in the diw. n-i-'arḍ and according to Khusrau, ' the corner of his tablecloth stretched up to the skirts of the Resurrection itself.'[2] The 'tanbūl'[3] of rāwat-'arḍ was specially noted for its excellence and abundance and 'the poor people received from him "tanb ūl" larger in quantity than all the vegetation on earth'.[4] The Rāwat-'arḍ who had a great partiality for this leaf would send for it in quick succession,[5] and each time he took one for himself, all those who happened to be sitting around him also got one each. His generosity extended even beyond this. 'Each year he gave away caps and cloaks numerous enough to cover the nakedness of all the needy persons in the world. Every time this 'āriḍ of the armies[6] poured the rain of his mercy on the Musalmāns, the Hindu unbelievers also received their due, for the rain was general, only the rain that fell on the latter was that of arrows and spears'.[7]

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1 The original has (افقاع) 'afqā', evidently the plural form of فقع a leek or mushroom or of فقاع meaning wine, liquor.

2 A curious poetical expression for denoting the extreme length of the table-cloth, the Judgment Day or the Day of Resurrection being something very remote (Dibacha of Ghurratul-Kamāl).

3 The betel-leaf.

4 Dibācha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl.

5 In India even to-day in assemblies, especially those held on the occasion of marriage, betel-leaves are served constantly all the time the gathering lasts. They are brought in on special silver plates, prepared in the usual way and wrapped round with silver or gold leaves.

6 'Ariḍ-i-Siphāh.

7 Dibācha Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl. Khusran has here, evidently, been affected by the 'fashion' of his age. His bitterness against the 'infidels' is palpably feigned. In fact the last clause would seem to be an afterthought added to deceive his too ardent Muslim readers.

It was this great man, this 'pillar of the state', who became the guardian of Khursau after the death of Amir Saifuddin Maḥmūd. It was lucky for the young poet that his grandfather was there to take care of him, and he says himself: 'My fortune favoured me, for my grandfather was alive. He was not a mere grandfather, but a great fortune.[1] When the cloud whose drop I am passed away from my head, I was left an orphan. My grandfather picked me up and strung me in the pearl-rope of his service'.[2]

'Imādul-Mulk, as we have seen above, was one of the foremost nobles of his age. He had in his personal service two hundred Turkish and two thousand Hindu slaves and servants and a thousand troopers.[3] Fifty to sixty slaves always attended his assemblies for bringing in fresh relays of betel-leaf alone,[4] and his house was the haunt of great scholars and mighty nobles. The young poet thus grew up amidst luxury and ease and passed his youthful days in the society of great men. He listened eagerly to the learned discourses of the scholars, the artistic recitals of the poets, and the melodious songs of the musicians, and found ample opportunity for exercising his own poetic talent by writing poems in praise of his grandfather's distinguished guests. It was also probably in these early days, in the magnificent assemblies convened by 'Imadul-Mulk' that the poet imbibed a love for music, a science in which he later acquired great proficiency.

But while Khusrau was thus making great headway in his favourite pursuits, it is uncertain whether he paid as much attention to the more abstruse sciences. There is no evidence to show that he underwent any regular course of training in some of the colleges, or that he was instructed by any contemporary scholars. The only teacher of his whom he has mentioned by name is the calligraphist Khwāja Asaduddin[5] who was apparently responsible for

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1 جدّ نبود دولتی بود 'daulat' can also be rendered as 'kingdom' while 'jadd' can mean 'fortune' also.

2 Dibācha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl.

3 Ibid.

4 Barni, p. 117.

5 See supra. We know nothing more about him than that he was a good calligraphist. But his soubriquet of Qāḍi would show that he was also a good scholar. Barni mentions, among the learned men of Balban's time, a certain Qāḍi Sa'iduddin (p. 111) and it is possible that this is a mistake for Asaduddin. Of his skill in calligraphy Khusrau says in an ode:

گیسوی تو همچو خط خواجه است که در وی آسان نتواند که نهد هر پسر انگشت

'Thy hair, O beloved, is like the writing of the Khwāja which cannot easily be imitated (or criticised) by every youthful aspirant'. Tuḥfat-ul-Sighar (Ind. Off. MS. 1187, fol. 31 *b*).

the elementary training of the poet in the popular art of calligraphy. Even in poetry he did not adopt the usual procedure of becoming a pupil to some famous master, but relied almost entirely on his own skill and natural aptitude. He studied assiduously the poetry of popular masters of his days and tried his hand at each of the various styles then commonly in vogue, but he sought no aid, no correction[1], as it was technically known, from anyone. He says himself:[2] 'I was only twelve years old when the foundations of the various forms of verse were laid strongly in my mind. When the scholars and savants of the time saw my proficiency in poetry they were amazed and their amazement added to my pride, for on listening to my verses they used to encourage me heartily. But I hardly required any such encouragement, for I was already so enamoured of this fascinating art that from morning till evening my head was bent like that of the pen consuming the lampsoot,[3] and I strained my eyes over "the black and white" day and night in order to achieve a high name for fine sagacity and enlightened wit. From time to time the contemporary artists used to test my skill [4] and I displayed to them my art with the burning eloquence of my tongue. As no famous master had ever trained me, who could point out to me the subtleties of verse and could check my wandering pen from the paths of error or help to bring to light the excellence that lay hidden in my faults, for some time I placed before me, like the parrots learning to speak, the mirror of imagination, and learnt poetry from the images that were reflected in that mirror. I sought at the same time to polish the rough mirror of my mind with the burnisher of efforts. I examined most of the (forms of poetry) that could be produced through imagination, and studied constantly the works of great masters. From these I culled what was sweet and thus acquired a real taste for the pleasures of poetry. My eyes and intellect brightened when I saw the writings of Anwari and Sanāi, and wherever I beheld a poem bright as gold-water I chased it like a running stream. Every diwān I came across, I not only studied but imitated in my compositions.'[5]

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1 Iṣlāḥ : suggestions and corrections by a master. The budding poets of the East used generally to show the results of their poetical efforts to certain poets who had already made a name for themselves.

2 I translate the passage very freely. It is full of various figures of speech. (Dibācha : Tuḥfat-ul-Sighar).

3 *i.e.*, the ink, in which the lamp-soot forms the chief ingredient. On the other hand, to consume the lamp-soot may also be interpreted in the sense of burning the midnight oil.

4 Probably in some of the poetical contests or 'mushā'aras' so popular in the Eastern lands.

5 Dibācha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl (I. O. MS. 1186).

This shows clearly that Khusrau from the very beginning of his poetical career relied almost entirely on his own natural genius and industry and did not seek the aid of any of the brilliant scholars and poets who, according to Barni, adorned the reign of Ghyathuddin Balban.[1] He was, no doubt, conscious of the advantages accruing from a regular training under a sympathetic master who could check the wayward flights of a youthful fancy to paths of error, and direct the course of an unripe and ardent imagination into proper and fruitful channels, for poetry in the East has always been a science as well as an art, and as such requires often a regular instruction. Thus the poet himself, advising one of his sons, says:[2] 'If you want to be happy in your manhood, you should serve well your teacher. What use is it to grasp the axe in your hand without the guidance of a teacher? Surely your hand will become wood and the wood fuel. Rose-water pressed from wild roses does not smell so pleasantly'. Yet there are certain natures that cannot bear even the gentle yoke of pupilhood, certain minds that would not be trammelled by conventions, and certain dispositions that have in them a seed of originality and independence. Genius always soars high above the usual rules and conventions, and strives to chalk out for itself a path different from that of the average human beings. Khusrau, no doubt, in his early days tried to imitate great masters,[3] and even in his riper age strove to plod in the footprints of Nizāmi,[4] but his native originality and genius always assert themselves in his works and have helped him to evolve a style of poetry that is essentially his own.

Khusrau does not seem to have paid much attention to the study of serious sciences in his youth. He says that he knew several languages,[5] and we have no reason to disbelieve him. But these languages, we suspect to have been acquired more through an everyday intercourse with all sorts of men—Hindu rāis coming to court the favour of his grandfather, the burly Afghans

1 Barni (p. III) mentions several names, about whom, unfortunately, we know very little now. According to Shibli (Shi'rul 'Ajam, V. II, p. 144) Khusrau became a pupil of Maulāna Shihābuddin. But this is an erroneous conclusion from some of the poet's remarks about this personage.

2 The 'Ashiqa (I.O. MS. 1215, fol. 156b).

3 See supra.

4 In writing a replica to Nizāmi's famous work the Khamsa or the five mathnawis.

5 (Nuh Sipihr (I. O. MS. 1187, fol. 716): 'With my knowing mind I have studied most of the languages spoken by men. I know them, comprehend them, and have composed in them also'.

من بزبانهای کسان بیشتری   کرده ام از طبع شناسا گذری
دانم و دریافتهٔ و گفته همم   جسته و روشن شده زان بیش و کمم

We shall discuss the question in detail in a following chapter.

of the frontier whom he met in his travels to Multan and other places in the west, and the Turks of the north (Bālā) who came to seek employment as troopers in the armies of the king of Delhi—than from a regular study. He admits himself that he was not a scholar of Arabic. 'I am an Indian Turk and can answer you in Hindi; I have no Egyptian sugar (i.e, Arabic) to talk of Arabia'.[1]

He even confesses that he did not know the 'silly' rules of prosody, the various metres, the scansions, the numerous changes that the rhyme undergoes and so on.[2] He probably gained a fairly good knowledge of sciences like astronomy, grammar, theology, and jurisprudence during his visits to the assemblies of the learned and through a frequent association with scholars. This is evident from his works. Yet he was a poet first and anything else after that. He was not a 'scholar-poet',—his poetry was not the outcome of a thorough study and mastery of a language without any real poetic genius. He did not compose poems as a writer would compose an ornate letter, plodding slowly, stumbling at each word, and weighing and judging it carefully before 'stringing it finally into the necklace'. He was a bright boy with an intellect and shrewdness certainly extraordinary. He grasped quickly what he heard and stored it in his memory, and thus without any elaborate study managed to learn a good deal. He could always make up for his rather cursory knowledge of sciences by his quick wit and brilliant intellect, and could hold his own against any pedantic scholar.

The young poet, then, started his public career equipped with just a passable knowledge of the serious sciences, but with an extraordinary talent for poetry, a keen appreciation of things beautiful and pleasant and, above all, a ready wit and a bright humour that won for him an honourable place in any

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1 ترک هندوستانیم من هندوی گویم جواب   شکر مصری ندارم کز عرب گویم سخن

The Dibācha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl. Shibli says (Shi'rul-'Ajam, II, 110): 'He was fully versed in Arabic', but I doubt this very much. On p. 133 again Shibli says : 'In Arabic he was the equal of Arab litterateurs', which is hard to believe in the face of Khusrau's own denial.

2 Baqiya Naqiya (I.O. MS. 1187, fol. 393): 'You say to me: "O Khusrau, thou dost not know prosody". Why should I discuss it with you, for I need no prosody. I compose balanced verses with my natural judgment .. .. I have the balance and you place (your verses) in the balance. Which of us two is superior ? Consider this yourself.'

ای که میگوئی مرا خسرو نمیدانی عروض   من چه محتاج عروضم تا کنم گفت و شنو
نظم سنجیده همیگویم بموزونیٔ طبع   نکتهٔ سنجیده باشد وقت سنجیدن گرو
من ترازو دارم و تو در ترازو می نهی   کیست زین هر دو فراهم خود درین سنجیده شو

assembly. He was born a courtier just as he was born a poet, and he continued playing the double role almost up to the very last moments of his life. His poems charmed the populace and entranced nobles and princes. It would be no exaggeration to say in the words of Sleeman, that he 'sang extempore to his lyre while the greatest and the fairest watched his lips to catch the expressions as they came warm from his soul'.[1] The eloquence and sweetness of his verses soon earned for him the title of Ṭūtī-i-Hind, the Parrot of India.[2]

Fortune favoured the youthful artist from the very start. The peculiar combination of a gifted poet and a pleasant and shrewd courtier and man of the world threw all doors open before him. The conditions of the country, moreover, during Balban's reign, and that of the society were ideal for a successful début. Peace prevailed generally throughout the country, and men thought more of poetry and learning than of warlike exploits. On the one hand there was a brilliant galaxy of scholars and savants that came in ever larger numbers from the north to the hospitable capital of Delhi, and on the other an equally resplendent group of great and generous maliks, the remnants of the famous Shamsi slaves who vied with one another in their lavish gifts to men of letters and poets, in order to earn for themselves a distinction among their companions and a name that might be handed down to posterity through the panegyrics that their generosity obtained for them. Thus Barni says: [3] 'There was no rivalry, jealousy or enmity among the Shamsi, Nāṣiri or even Balbani maliks and k͟hāns for the sake of big fiefs, abundance of wealth, or high and honourable offices. All their rivalry and envy was concerning deeds of generosity. If a k͟hān or malik heard that five hundred persons dined at the table of a certain malik or k͟hān, he was envious and tried to feed a thousand at his table. Again, if one of them came to know that such and such malik

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1 Major Sleeman : Rambles and Recollections (Westminster, 1843), V. II, p. 166.

2 The poet himself makes at various places allusions to this title. Thus : Dibācha G͟hurrat-ul-Kamāl :

چو من طوطئ هندم راست پرسی   ز من هندوی پرس تا راست گویم

(Cf. Nuh Sipihr):—

خدایا چو خسرو درین بوستان   کهن طوطئ شد ز هندوستان

It was K͟husrau who was in his mind when Ḥafiẓ wrote the well-known couplet :

شکرشکن شوند همه طوطیان هند   زین قند پارسی که به بنگاله میرود

of the g͟hazal he sent to G͟hiyāt͟huddīn of Bengal.

3 Barni, pp. 119-20.

gives as charity two hundred "tankahs"[1] when he rides out, he was jealous and determined to give away four hundred "tankahs" when he himself rode out. If one of the nobles bestowed fifty horses in his wine-party and gave robes to two hundred persons, another noble hearing this would feel jealous and would try his best to give away a hundred horses and to bestow robes on five hundred persons. Consequently, the maliks, the Khāns, and the nobles of that age were always in debt on account of their lavish gifts, expenditure, and charities.'

Several of these nobles, one may believe, were eager to patronise a rising star like Khusrau and to secure his services for their special behoof. Khusrau was too young to be admitted to the royal court itself, and, perhaps, the stern monarch (whom Khusrau praises in several fine odes)[2] was not much inclined towards poetry and poets, and so the poet had to attach himself to one of the nobles. His choice fell on the foremost and the most generous of them, and he enrolled himself in the cortège of the brilliant Malik Chhajjū 'Alāud-din Kishli Khān, the Chief Chamberlain,[3] who once gave away all the horses in his stables to a poet, Shamsi-i-Mu'in, who had composed an ode in his praise and ten thousand tankahs to each of the musicians who recited the ode in his presence.[4] But it was not until after the death of his grandfather, 'Imādul Mulk, who died at the ripe age of a hundred and thirteen years, after a long and meritorious service of about seventy years as the 'āriḍ-i-mamālik, that Khusrau sought the protection of this malik. This event occurred about the year 671 H.,[5] when the poet was almost twenty and had firmly established his claims to be a poet of the first rank. Great scholars had already testified to his skill, and already he had produced enough poetry to form a large diwān.[6] He relates of himself when he was sixteen: 'In those days critical people had

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1 For tankah see Thomas, p. 49n and p. 224n.

2 See for instance the odes Nos. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, etc. in the Tuḥfat-ul-Sighar (I.O. MS., No. 1187).

3 See supra.

4 Barni, p. 113.

5 Khusrau gives, in his Dibācha to the Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl, the age and duration of office of his grandfather. He says further on, however, 'I was 20 when he became a hundred and traversed in a moment the thousand-year long journey to paradise'. (But he is evidently giving here the approximate age of 'Imād-ul-Mulk and is speaking, as it were, in round numbers. Khusrau was born in 651 H., and so 'Imād-ul-Mulk must have died about 671 H. Aḥmad Said Mahrarawi commits the strange blunder of asserting that 'Imād-ul-Mulk was 113 wnen he took charge of Khusrau after the death of the latter's father. (See Hayāt-i-Khusrau, p. 6.)

6 His first Diwān, Tuḥfat-ul-Sighar, contains odes composed from the age of 16 to 19 years. (See Dibācha.)

changed their ideas about the expression of thoughts and the new style in great vogue was the style of Kamāl of Ispahan.[1] Following the general practice, I also adopted the same mode and little by little achieved great proficiency in it. Mufti Mush'iruddin Gharifi[2] was alive then, and in learning and knowledge was unique in his time. One day I betook myself to this great scholar in order to gain and profit by his advice concerning this style, and recited to him a fine quatrain that I had recently composed, and which began thus: "When thy languid eye is conquettish at the time thou smilest, roses seem to be falling about from thy face".[3] The Mufti[4] liked it immensely and praised me highly.... Afterwards whatever my youthful imagination produced, was eagerly sought and appreciated by the knowing persons of the time and was quoted from mouth to mouth, musicians sang it to the music of their lyres, and even bent old men flew into ecstasies on hearing these melodies.'[5]

While, then, the poet was exulting in his successes and was boasting of his poetic prowess, saying, 'My verses have imparted to the realm of Hind a splendour as Zahir's verses did to that of Faryāb',[6] and, 'My dust has been made the collyrium of Ispahan so that the sky may apply it to the eyes of Anwari,'[7] he had to face this fresh sorrow,'Imād-ul Mulk's death. Khusrau composed a long and touching elegy on the death of this affectionate grandfather, who had been so kind to the orphan. He mourned him with real grief. 'That lamp is blown out, the Torch of Heaven is obscured. Alas! the foundation of the two worlds is ruined. Why does not the 'Āriḍ go to the royal presence? Where hides the great minister and why comes he not to the Diwān?.... O Āsāf! even the Sultan weeps for thee and O'Āriḍ, the diwān itself mourns thy death. The supporting pole (pillar) of the celestial dome itself has succumbed, for pavilions and belvederes of the royal palace are in mourning.... The Turks have discarded their "kul hs", and in grief have rent their cloaks down to the skirt, while the Hindu Rāis, with bare heads like Brahmins, weep in bewildered sorrow.'[8]

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1 We shall speak of this poet later on.

2 Sic in the MS.

3 در خنده چو چشم مست تو ناز کند   از رویتو گل ریختن آغاز کند

4 Barni makes no mention of this scholar.

5 Dibācha of Wast-ul-Ḥayāt (I.O. MS. 1187). I have rendered the passage very freely. A literal translation would be impossible.

6 Tuḥfat-ul-Sighar (I.O. MS. 1187) fol. 27*b*:—

تا بفر شعر من فریاب شد اقلیم هند   یا باشعار ظهیر اقصای ملک فاریاب

7 Ibid. fol. 39*b* :—

تا کشد گردون بچشم انوری   خاك من کحل سپاهانی شده است

8 Tuḥfat-ul-Sighar (I.O. MS. 1187) fol. 45*b* seq.

The poet as noted above now made the wise decision of entering the service of Malik 'Alāuddin Kishli Khān, one of his earliest patrons. He had, by this time, sung the praises of several, contemporary great men, among them being Shamsuddin Dabir,[1] Amir 'Ali Sarjāndār[2] Ikhtiyāruddaula Ḥusāmuddin, and Malik Maḥmūd, the son and successor of 'Imād-ul-Mulk.[3] But 'Alāuddin Kishli Khān, both in generosity and rank, certainly excelled all his contemporaries. His power and influence as the nephew of the Sultan were vast, and his assemblies were attended by nobles and princes of the highest position, and the young poet could not have made a better choice. He says hmself: 'After that (i.e. the death of 'Imād-ul-Mulk) I attached myself to the court of the great Kishli Khān, known popularly as Chhajjū, and through this wise attachment reached to great and lofty heights. Soon after I had entered his service, I became his great confidant.'[4]

What the duties of the poet were in his first office, and what remuneration he received for performing them, we cannot definitely ascertain. But we can guess with great probability of truth, that his main duty was to enliven the assemblies of his patron with his ready wit and pleasant humour, to be, in other words, a boon-companion to the great Khān, and to sing his praises in fine poems that might shed an enhanced lustre on his already prominent personality.

'For two years,' says Khusrau, 'I sang his praises in some of the most ornate odes, one of which others could compose only in a year[5] (?). I was constantly present in the garden of that cypress[6] and refreshed his court with the soft breezes that blew from the lily of my tongue.'[7]

The assemblies of these great khāns were, as we can well imagine, scenes of pleasant festivities where the sweet melody of the 'rabāb' filled the air like the perfumes that burnt in silver censers and where the forbidden liquid, the

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1 See infra.

2 See supra.

3 See for instance the ode No. 28, fol. 36*b* (O.I. MS. of Tuhfat-ul-Ṣighar) beginning :—

ریحان خطی و راح لب ای روح مصوّر ریحان تو راحت ده و راحت فرح آور

and the elegy on 'Imād-ul-Mulk's death (quoted above) in which he says:—

محمود را که گشت ضمیرش مقام غم در زحمت فراق توصبر جمیل باد

4 Literally 'I became the tire-woman of his court or estate'. عاقله دولت او گشتم Dibācha Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl.)

5 The translation is doubtful. The MS. has :—

قصیدهٔ چند حوالی که حولی دیگران نتوان گفت

6 Referring of course to the malik.

7 Dibācha Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl.

red juice of the grape, flowed and overflowed on all sides. The aged and stern monarch, Balban, was now a puritan and had renounced wine,[1] and so naturally did not approve of such almost bacchanalian parties. Discipline was his great passion and he kept a strict control over the actions of his own sons and grandsons,[2] and took great care to keep them away from such festive gatherings. It was, probably, secretly and in constant dread of the royal wrath, that some of them managed to spend a pleasant night in one of the merry assemblies held in the houses of some of the nobles, and one such stolen visit proved ultimately to be the cause of an estrangement between Khusrau and his patron. The poet relates the story himself thus: 'One day the younger son of the king Bughrā Khān was kind enough to come as a guest to the house of the great Khān, Kishlū[3] Khān who was his cousin. The visit was a secret one, for reports of their festive gatherings were always conveyed to the king. The prince had with him some of his confidential attendants, among whom were Shamsuddin Dabir[4] and Qāḍi Athir. The presence of these two scholars was like the conjunction of the two auspicious planets[5] or the combination of the sun and the moon, and I, who am Mercury,[6] felt flattered to be in that company. On their side, these two tried to establish their sway in the domain of poetry, and in response I sounded so loudly the sweet drum of poesy that I did not yield them the palm. The rumblings that arose from the two sides opened wide the ears of the two great princes[7] as well as their attendants, and as the poets recited their verses, the cloud of their generosity rained so heavily that it moistened all that is on the surface of the earth. Wonderful gold-scattering! The eyes of the beholders became yellow[8] at the sight of the dinārs[9] and the skirts of their robes were torn, with the weight of the gold

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1 See supra.

2 See for instance the account given by Barni of the early training of Kaiqobād which we shall utilize later on.

3 The name is always spelt like this in the MS. As it is a Turkish name, I believe both readings Kishlū and Kishli are admissible, for lū and li, denoting an iḍāfat or epithet, are always used indiscriminately in Turkish.

4 A contemporary noble, scholar, and poet, whom we shall meet again during the course of our narrative.

5 Venus and Jupiter.

6 'Ultārid is the 'kātib-i-falak' (the Scribe of the Sky) and hence the planet of learning and scholarship.

7 Bughrā Khān and Malik Kishli Khān.

8 Yarqāni, literally, jaundiced.

9 Khusrau here used the word dinār, evidently, in its general sense of any gold coin, as distinct from dirhem, a coin of baser metal. The usual currency of his day consisted of 'tankah' of either gold or silver and jitals, a very small copper coin.

they held, like the rose, in a hundred shreds. My sweet verses suited so well the taste of Bughrā Khān that, out of that generosity which is the characteristic of kings and princes, he ordered a dish full of silver tankahs[1] to be brought to me as a present from himself, and with this generous gift he made me a grateful slave of his.

'Our Khān was, however, of a very jealous temperament, and his face at once showed signs of displeasure. I saw that and tried to reconcile him, but he woud not listen to any of my explanations. Several days passed after this incident and still the memory of the past events was not wiped away from his mind. He wanted to punish me and to make me the target of the dart of his anger. As I thought of that dart, my heart ached (and I thought it better to seek protection in flight). So I bolted away like an arrow.'[2]

The unfortunate incident ended the relationship between the Khān and the poet, and the latter was now faced with the problem of finding another suitable patron. Bughra Khān, whose other name was Nāṣiruddin, was now the governor of Sāmāna, an important fortress, that, like Multan, guarded the route leading from the frontiers to the capital, Delhi,[3] while his elder brother Muḥammad, the favourite son of their father, held the governorship of Multan since after the death of Sher Khān, the able general who had done so much to aid Balban in keeping at bay the marauding Mongols. He had already appreciated Khusrau's talent[4] and so naturally the poet thought of him in this hour of distress. He betook himself to Sāmāna, and the prince, from what he had heard and seen of the poet, was only too glad to receive him under his protection. Khusrau became his cherished boon-companion.[5] 'I began to serve him, 'he says, 'and every day I rose higher in his favour and esteem.'[6]

But soon afterwards the poet was dislodged from this refuge and haven of rest and had to make, probably, the first long journey of his life.

Tughril, a Turkish slave, held the provinces of Lakhnauti and Bengal under Balban. He was a strong, energetic and brave man, and succeeded in bringing the provinces under his complete control. He reduced

1 The MS. has تنکۀ سفید جغراتی. The sense of جغراتی is not quite clear. Probably the poet simply means 'white as jughrāt' (curds) as he is writing with analogies derived from edibles.

2 Dibācha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl.

3 Sāmāna, a strong fortress in old days.

4 Vide Supra.

5 Nadim.

6 Dibācha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl.

Hajinagar[1] and won large plunder in the shape of gold, jewels, elephants, and horses. But his successes turned his head and the natives of those parts, always ready to rebel, so that the province of Lakhnauti had acquired the nickname of Bulghākpur (The City of Revolt), succeeded in inducing him to throw over the yoke of Delhi and to declare his independence. Tughril, in the 14th year of Balban's reign, or about 676H., proclaimed himself king of Lakhnauti and Bengal, assumed the title of Mughithuddin, and the privileges of 'Khutba'[2] and 'Sikka'[3] and refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of Delhi, keeping to himself all the rich spoils he had obtained in Ḥājinagar. The king, Balban, he thought was too old and too preoccupied with the Mongol scare to turn his attention seriously to Lakhnauti. But he was soon to be dis-illusioned.

Balban, on hearing of this rebellion, the only one of his otherwise peaceful reign, sent an army to Lakhnauti under Amin Khān, but this army was routed and put to flight by the superior forces of Tughril, whose lavish gifts had procured him supporters even in the royal army. The defeated general returned to Delhi and was mercilessly punished by being hanged on the Badaon Gate, as the stern king wanted to make this a warning for his generals. He then sent another army, but Tughril,encouraged by his first success, fell upon it and defeated it with great slaughter. This second disaster exhausted the king's patience. He was mad with rage, and bit his shoulders in his fury. The rainy season was fast approaching, but, disregarding all obstacles, he at once prepared to march on Lakhnauti himself. He made extensive preparations for the provision of boats and other requisites, placed Delhi under the charge of the Kotwal, the Amir-ul-Umarā, and distributing the territory of Sāmāna and Sonām among various nobles, and appointing Malik Sūnaj Sarjāndār[4] the nāib of Sāmāna, asked his son Bughra Khān to accompany him with his followers and retainers to Lakhnauti.

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1 Sic in Barni. Firishta and Khusrau, however, give the name as Jājnagar, which is the correct form.

2 For a full account of Khutba, its significance and history, see Ency. of Islam, V. II, p. 980 seq.

3 Coinage. The right of minting and issuing coinage has always been a royal prerogative.

4 Sarjāndār. Jāndār means generally an armour-bearer or a guard, a custodian, in which latter sense it was employed in those days in India. Frishta explains 'jāndārs' as 'Khāṣa Khail', which Raverty interprets as 'slaves' and remarks : 'But such cannot be correct for Sultan Mu'izuddin himself was "Sar-i-jāndār" to his brother Ghiayāthuddin. The jāndārs were generally slaves, as most trust-worthy, no doubt'. Why 'Khāṣa Khail' should be taken to mean 'slaves' is not very clear. 'Khāṣa' (more correctly Khaṣṣa) means more often 'private' confidential, and hence exclusive and royal. It is thus that Khāsa in India often meant the royal food, being, no doubt a contraction of 'Khāṣa

Thus it was that Khusrau had also to share the hardships of the arduous royal march to Lakhnauti. He had to do so much against his will, we presume, for there is a distinct strain of bitterness in his account of the journey. But the prince naturally did not want to part with such a lively and pleasant companion. 'All at once', says Khusrau, 'the sublime banners moved from the capital city of Delhi in hot haste towards Lakhnauti, and cutting through the river (Sarū) with the glittering swords proceeded towards the Eastern Ocean. The prince was already preparing to start when the king's emissary arrived, and at once, in obedience to the royal orders, with a numerous army he joined the camp of the ruler of the world.'[1]

No sooner had the king crossed the river than the rains set in in real earnest,[2] and the royal army had to make long forced halts on its way through the flooded country. 'For one year we tramped on and yet the journey was not over', says the poet. Tughril, on hearing of the approach of the king, gathered together all his treasures, and with these he fled away towards Ḥājinagar, taking with him also a large number of the inhabitants of Lakhnauti whom he had induced to follow him with promises of an early return to their homes. 'The king will soon get weary of this wild goose chase and would not stay in Lakhnauti long. We can then return peacefully', he assured them. But he was mistaken. Balban was a man of iron determination, and was not to be deterred by any obstacles. 'I shall follow him even into the sea', he declared, and having reached and occupied Lakhnauti, he proceeded towards Hājinagar. The march now became more difficult. 'During the journey of 150 kurohs', continues Khusrau, 'on that side of Lakhnauti[3] the burdens [4] and the saddle-cloths could scarcely be taken off from the backs of the beasts, for each of those hundred and fifty kurohs was a veritable infliction.[5]

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ta'ām' or 'ta'ām-i-khaṣṣa'. Hence 'Khāṣa Khail' would be the royal cavalry or the king's guards and Sā jāndār the chief officer of those guards, corresponding to the English 'Master of the House' and to the Egyptian Amir-Jāndār, the chief of the guards of the Zardah Khāna or royal prison. Elliot has changed the word into 'Sirjāndār' and several other historians into 'Sarjāmdar'. (See Raverty T. N., p. 603, N. 7 and Lane's Arabian Nights, V. II, p. 238, N. 91, Chapter X.)

1 Dibācha Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl.

2 Most of this account is based on Barni's description of the campaign, supplementted by Khusrau's brief allusions to it, the only two contemporary authorities. Firishta's account, which he has apparently borrowed from Barni, is almost identical with that of the older historian.

3 Azān-sūi (*i.e.* beyond).

4 Hāla and tamlit. The idea is that the march was quick and unremittent.

5 "او کره نبود جبر بودبی جبر و کره" a curious play on the words جبر and کره.

The country was full of marauding Hindus,[1] who, in the hope of getting spoils,and relying on the (difficult nature) of that land, carried on their crafty raids on us.[2] There were marshes all over the track, such that if I were caught in one of them, I should have been lost in what they call the Black Water and the Dark Clay'.

The king having arrived at Sunārgāon, saw the rājah of that place and took from him a promise to bar Tughril's flight as far as possible. He then moved on towards Hājinagar, but could find no trace of the fugitive. When he was only about fifty to sixty kurohs from Hājinagar he appointed one of his generals[3] to proceed in advance of the main army and to reconnoitre the whereabouts of Tughril. A small party of this advance-guard luckily got hold of two merchants who were returning from Tughril's camp after executing some transactions there. Threats of death soon extorted from them the secret of the enemy's camp. Tughril's army had halted in a grove near a tank, and putting off their arms and unloading their beasts, were engaged in various peaceful occupations—cooking, bathing, sleeping and singing. The small party, headed by Malik Mohd. the Lion-killer,[4] the governor of Kiūl, and his brother, Malik Muqaddar, afterwards known as 'Tughril-slayer',[5] fell upon the un wary foes, and before the latter could overcome their surprise, captured and slew Tughril. His followers fled away in panic, and soon the main advanc-guard joined the gallant maliks. All the treasures, elephants, slaves, wives, sons and daughters of Tughril fell into the hands of the victors, and his head was sent to the royal 'presence'. Tughril having been thus 'clipped',[6] as Khusrau says, the king rewarded richly the brave officers, sent a long and jubilant letter of victory to Delhi, and demonstratd his wrath by lining the main thoroughfare of Lakhnauti, a kuroh long, with gibbets on which were hanged the relations and friends of the unfortunate rebel.

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1 مراج or هندوان هراج; هرج and مرج both meaning disturbance and confusion or sedition.

2 با گرگم جنگ روباه بازی بستند literally 'waged a fox-faced war against my wolf'.

3 Barni gives the name of the general as Malik Bārbek Bektars Sultāni (p. 88). The full name given on p. 24 is Malik Ikhtiyāruddin Bektars Sultāni Bārbek.

4 Shir-andāz, probably a title bestowed on the occasion of some successful encounter with a lion or a tiger, like Shir-afgan.

5 Tughril-Kush : it was he who beheaded Tughril.

6 Dibācha : Ghurra : reading 'pargum kardand', but another reading may be 'parkam kardand', meaning 'rendered helpless, prostrate,' etc. Khusrau (*vide* Farhang-i-Rashidi) says :—

مور که پر یافت نه پر کم بود   پر زدنش زانسوی عالم بود

The king now appointed his son, Bughra Khān, governor of Lakhnauti and Bengal, and invested him with 'chatr'[1] and 'dūrbāsh'.[2] 'With the governorship of Lakhnauti and the red umbrella, the prince was so exalted', says Khusrau, 'that his lofty head reached the azure vault of heaven itself.'[3]

Balban now turned back towards the capital, but before that, he called his son Bughra Khan and his secretary Shamsuddin Dabir to his presence, and dictated a long code of moral and political principles to be scrupulously adhered to by his son, laying special stress on the latter's submission and faithful obedience to the king of Delhi, whoever he might happen to be.

Shamsuddin Dabir, a scholar and a talented poet himself, was a great patron of poetry, and had been very kind to Khusrau from the very beginning of the latter's career. Khusrau acknowledges his gratitude to him on several occasions during the course of his writings.[5] The secretary, as appreciative of the poet's value as a companion as was his master, Bughra Khān, wanted to detain Khusrau in Lakhnauti. But the latter could not be persuaded to remain there. He was loth to leave Delhi and live in a marsh-ridden province so far from his relatives and friends. 'Malik Shamsuddin', he says, 'wanted to persuade me to stay there, but I was concerned at the separation from my dear ones. So like Joseph, from that prison-well I started towards the populous Egypt (or city : مصر) and under the protection of the royal standard, reached the city (of Delhi).' The probable date of his arrival there is about the year 680 H.

When the king reached Delhi there was great rejoicing in the capital and all over the neighbouring places. Tājiks[5] and Turks as well as Hindus greeted the victorious sovereign with rich presents. Feasting and merry-

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1 A canopy or umbrella, a sign and emblem of authority. A black umbrella was the exclusive sign of royalty, and the king alone used it.

2 A forked spear, carried before great notables. It was richly studded. The name is evidently derived from its function—something to keep the populace at a respectful distance from the noble cavalcade. See also infra.

3 Dibācha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl.

4 See for instance the ode No. 25, fol. 34, I.O. MS. 1187 of the Tuhfat-ul-Sighar, beginning :—

دهند زر ز دل و دیده نرگس و سمنش   کند چو بادصبا وصف غنچهٔ دهنش

5 An ambiguous term, denoting often civilized town-dwellers of Central Asia in contrast to the nomadic people of those regions known as Turks. It is no doubt the same word as Tāzi, the Persian appellation for an Arab, and its Chinese version Tāhi, whence it has also been used in the sense of 'westerner' or foreigner. Tājik is also often used to distinguish the inhabitants of Turkestan, with regular Aryan features, from the Mongols or Tartars. See Tārikh-i-Rashidi, Edit. Elias and Ross, pp. 85, 87, 90, and 91 of the Introduction.

making went on for days together. Prince Muḥammad Qāān, afterwards known as Khān-i-Shahid, was among those who came to Delhi to offer their homage and felicitations to the aged monarch. He came from Multan with rich presents and Tartar horses which he had gathered together during his father's absence from Delhi. The Sultan was immensely pleased by his favourite son's obedience and filial regard.

Now, Prince Moḥd. had inherited several of the good qualities of his father. He was brave and courageous, a good soldier, and an efficient commander, but he had none of Balban's sternness and dry puritanism. He was, on the contrary, a gentle and amiable man, fond of poetry and music, and also of the pleasures of life. He had, no doubt, often heard of the rising poet, and had even, perhaps, heard some of his fine odes from his own lips in the assemblies of the khāns and maliks during his visits to the capital. What could be more natural than that he should, at this time of universal rejoicing and happiness, invite the poet to his presence and ask him to recite some of his verses?

'In those days' says Khusrau, 'the honoured Khān, the great Qāān Malik, had come to Delhi after the victory of Dam (?) and as my fortune was fated to be linked up with his, he was pleased to ask about the ripe fruit of my speech (i.e. poetry). I took to him a few verses that happened to be ready. The prince appreciated them very much and rewarded me with a robe of honour[1] and a cap.' The prince asked Khusrau to accompany him to Multan and the poet, readily agreeing, 'tied the cincture of service round his waist and donned the cap of companionship on his head.'[2]

After Delhi, Multan was certainly the most important city of the kingdom in those days. Its situation on the route of the Mongol invaders gave it great strategic importance. It had been the seat of the governors of Sind for a long time, and some of them, like Nāṣiruddin Qubācha, with their generosity and hospitality had gathered within it a large number of nobles and scholars who came fleeing to India before the Mongol onslaught.[3] It was thus a literary

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1 Tashrif, in the sense of 'Khil'at' (more correctly Khal'at). Hafiz says :—

خواجه تشریفم فرستادی و مال   مالت افزون باد و خصمت پایمال

and

هرچه هست از قامت ناساز بد اندام ماست   ورنه تشریف تو بر بالای کس کوتاه نیست

2 Dibācha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl :—

"کمر بندگی بر میان بستم و کلاه ندیمی بر سر"

3 Among the refugees was Maulāna Quṭbuddin Kāshāni, who came from Transoxiana, and who was famous for his knowledge and scholarship. Nāṣiruddin Qubācha built a sarāi with a college attached to it, specially for him in Multan. (Firishta Text v., II, p. 408). He later went and settled in Delhi.

centre of no mean rank, and was at the same time a prosperous trade centre. Here came the traders from across the border with the rich manufactures of Balkh and Bukhara and the luscious fruit of Samarqand and Qandhar, and the Multani merchants became rich and prosperous money-lenders whose aid was eagerly sought by the extravagantly generous maliks and k͟hāns for replenishing their dwindling funds.[1] The city was also the refuge of certain saintly personages whose spiritual sway over the masses was both vast and strong, and while Sheik͟h Niẓāmuddin Auliya[2] lived and preached in the days of which we are speaking in Delhi, one of his rivals, Sheik͟h Ṣadruddin, son of Sheik͟h Bahāuddin Zakariyyā, was the spiritual head of the sūfis in Multan.

Prince Muḥammad's residence in Delhi was the haunt of scholars and saints,[3] and his court in Multan rivalled, perhaps, even the court of his royal father. 'His court was filled with wise men and scholars and skilful artists. His boon-companions read the Shāh-Nāmah, the diwāns of Sanāi and K͟hāqāni, and the K͟hamsa of Sheik͟h Niẓāmi, and learned critics discussed before him the (merits of the) verses of these great men.' Courteous and polite, the prince was one of the most cultured men of his time. He knew well how to appreciate merit and how to reward it . He was scrupulous to a fault in the observance of decorum. 'If he had to sit for a day and a night together on the seat of "amārat"[4] (governorship) he never once raised his knees up and was never seen sitting crosslegged,[5] on such occasions.' Never did an abusive word profane his lips and he was never immoderate in drinking wine. He was respectful towards persons of sanctity and holiness and would stand in humble attitude in their presence. One day Sheik͟h Ut͟hmān and Sheik͟h Ṣadruddin attended his assembly, and the two saints began to dance in ecstasy on hearing some Arabic verses recited by the 'qawwāls'.[6] The prince got up and stood

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1 See Barni, who mentions the sāhs or moneylenders of Delhi with Multanis.

2 We shall speak of him at length in a latter chapter.

3 According to Barni, Prince Muḥammad was fond of the society of learned men, while his younger brother Bug͟hra K͟hān liked better the company of musicians and jesters.

4 Amārat : the office of an amir; here that of a governor and ruler.

5 The original has 'murabba' 'which would mean literally 'squared' or square-legged, an easy and unconventional sitting-pose among the orientals.

6 Qawwāl, a singer or musician, who specializes in singing mystical verses, or 'qual' a form, of melody. These singers generally perform in parties of three or more, and are largely patronized by the Chishtiya sect of the Sufis. Several accomplished qawwāls were present, probably, in Multan in those days, as it was a great centre of the saints of this order. Firishta (Pers. Text., p. 406, V. II) mentions particularly one named 'Abdullah, who came to that city from Turkey (Rum) and enlivened the assemblies of Sheik͟h Bahāuddin Zakariyyā, the father of Ṣheik͟h Sadruddin of Multan.

by in a respectful attitude, his eyes filled with tears, and remained like that till the saints had finished their mystic frolics and had subsided into their usual equanimity and gravity. He was extremely fond of poetry and had a very good taste and a refined judgment. He had a manuscript written by himself in an elegant hand, which contained a selection of about twenty thousand verses from the greatest of the old masters, and testified to his sense of the beautiful and noble in poetry.

Among the brightest gems in his court which was, in Firishta's words,'the envy of the garden of Paradise', the most prominent were our poet Khusrau and his bright friend and contemporary, Amīr Najmuddīn Hasan Sijizī, whose friendship Khusrau seems to have formed in his early youth.

Romantic stories have been woven round the two poets and their friendship has been glorified into a mystic love. According to Firishta, Amīr Khusrau, in the prime of his youth, was passing through a street in the august company of his preceptor, the Sheikh Nizāmuddīn Auliya, and some of his disciples when Hasan, who was in those days a comely youth, was sitting in the shop of a baker. Amīr Khusrau's eye lighted on Hasan and, attracted by his beaury, he went to the shop and asked him,'How do you sell bread?' Hasan replied: 'I place bread in one of the scales of the balance and ask the the customer to place his money in the other, and if the money is heavier, I let him go(with the bread)'. Khusrau said: 'But what would you do if the customer happened to be a poor man? 'Oh', replied Hasan, ' in that case I should accept his love and humility in place of money'. Khusrau was astonished and pleased by his witty talk, and mentioned him to his Sheikh. Khwāja Hasan, also conceiving a strong passion for Khusrau, left the shop, and although he did not become a disciple of the Sheikh immediately, he busied himself with greater vigour in the acquisition of knowledge and virtue and began to frequent the abode of the Sheikh, so that a great friendship sprang up between him and Amīr Khusrau.[1]

Firishta, then narrates how the two poets went to Multan, Khusrau as the 'mushafdār[2] and Hasan as the 'dawātdār'[3] of Prince Muhammad, and how their love became widely known till some scandal-mongers cast aspersions on their character in the presence of the prince, saying they belonged to the

1 Firishta : Text, p. 402, V. II; see also Shibli Shi'rul 'Ajam, V. II, p. 113 seq.

2 Mushafdār, the keeper of the mushaf or the Koran, a nominal office that simply implied an attendance on the dignitary bestowing it.

3 The keeper of the inkstand, *i.e.*, of the writing case or portfolio. An office similar to that of a mushafdar.

malāmatī isect.[1] The prince, it is said, forbade Hasan to visit Khusrau, but that availed nothing, so that he one day had him whipped. The young man was, however, no sooner out of the court than he went to his friend Khusrau. Exasperated at this open defiance of his authority, the prince ordered both of them to his presence and asked them to explain their conduct. 'We are one, body and soul',[2] said Khusrau. The prince demanded evidence of the purity of their love, whereupon Khusrau put his arm out of his sleeve and recited: 'The witness of a true lover is in the sleeve'.[3] The prince saw that Khusrau's arm bore traces of whipping exactly at the same spots where his friend Hasan was struck, and was silenced. Then Amīr Khusrau recited the following quatrain:

> 'Love came and spread like blood in my veins. It emptied me of all else and filled me with my friend. All the atoms of my existence belong to the loved one: my name alone remains by me, all else is his.'[4]

Khusrau then wanted to resign his office, but the prince refused to let him do so.

The story may or may not be true. There is nothing intrinsically impossible or absurd about it. Such mystic and platonic love was a common occurrence among the Sūfīs, who in fact recognized it as an important stage in the progress of the novice towards real or divine love, the 'ishq-i-haqīqī,' as they called it.

But what makes one suspect its authenticity is the fact that Barni, the contemporary historian, makes no mention of a 'love' between the two poets. He speaks of their friendship, which, according to his own version, was in a way brought about by himself.[5] One may even admit that the friendship was

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1 A sect of the Sūfīs who court 'malāmat' (reproach,abuse) by doing reprehensible deeds, seeking thereby to curb their vanity and egoism. A great supporter of this doctrine says : الملامة ترك السلامة

2 دوئی از میان ما رخت بر بست (Literally, 'Duality has departed from between us'.)

3 گواه عاشق صادق در آستین باشد Referring evidently to the 'yad-i-baidā', the 'luminous hand' of Moses (Koran). It may also mean 'is always ready to hand' or 'is not difficult to produce'.

4 Firishta Text, II, 402.

عشق آمد و شد چو خونم اندر رگ و پوست   تا کرد مرا تهی و پر کرد ز دوست
اجزای وجودم همگی دوست گرفت   نامیست مرا بر من باقی همه اوست

5 Barni, p. 60.

a very close one for Khusrau, in his Afḍal-ul- Fawāid, mentions him as 'my brother',[1] although it is not quite safe to draw this conclusion from the polite form of appellation so commonly employed among friends not necessarily very intimate. But that the friendship had in it something of the intense passion characteristic of love which can really exist only between members of the opposite sexes, is hard to believe. There is no internal evidence whatsoever to this effect, either in the writings of Khusrau or in those of Hasan. In fact, one is singularly struck by the absence of any reference or allusion to each other by the two poets in their poems, and were it not for an occasional mention of Hasan's name by Khusrau in his prose works, notably Afḍal-ul-Fawāid, and the evidence supplied by Barni, one would have been loth to believe even the existence of an ordinary friendship, synonymous with mutual respect, between the two contemporaries. Several biographers quote a quatrain of Hasan to prove his esteem and affection for Khusrau, but most of them give only the first two lines and omit the other two, thus drawing a favourable conclusion for themselves. But the whole quatrain is not at all capable of an interpretation that is generally given to it. The original runs thus :—

خسرو از راه کرم بپذیرد   آنچه من بنده حسن میگویم
[2] سخنم چو سخن خسرو نیست   سخن اینست که من میگویم

which is, I think, rather a sarcastic allusion to Khusrau. The name Khusrau in the first line is used in the sense of a prince or a king, and I would translate it thus:

> 'The king kindly accepts what this poor slave Hasan says. My poetry is not like that of Khusrau: *poetry is this that I compose.*'

The last line is certainly not very complimentary to Khusrau. There was, one is tempted to suspect, a certain amount of rivalry between the two poets in spite of their friendship and comradeship as fellow-officers in the court of Prince Muhammad in their youth, and as disciples of Niẓāmuddīn Auliya in their riper years, and the suspicion is strengthened by these lines as well as by Khusrau's caustic remarks, scattered all through his works, against contemporary poets who, according to him, pilfered and pinched his verses and tried with ungrateful audacity to vie with him in the realm of poesy. Khusrau, of course, mentions no names the was too sensible and polite to do that. But the fact that he makes no exceptions and does not anywhere speak of Hasan in

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1 See for instance, p. 9 (Afḍal-ul-Fawāid).

2 Dīwān of Ḥasan (B.M. M.S. fragments).

terms of admiration and applause,[1] would tend to show that he included him in the general condemnation. This sort of professional jealousy can easily be understood when we consider the peculiar conditions of their age. The poets had to guard with jealous care not only their fame and glory but also the rich stipends and presents from their patrons, that could be snatched away from them by their successful rivals. Thus, on the whole, while one could readily concede that the two poets were good friends as far as social intercourse is concerned, it is not at all established that the friendship had developed into 'love' and that they were 'one, body and soul'.

The author of the Bahāristān-i-Sukhan has also tried to disprove this story, but the argument he advances against its probability is not very satisfactory, and is based on an erroneous conjecture of Sheikh 'Abdul Ḥaq of Delhi, who says in his Akhbār-ul-Akhyār: 'It appears that Ḥasan was a little senior to Khusrau, for while the former has composed several splendid odes in praise of Ghiyāthuddīn Balban, there are few such panegyrics in the poetical works of the latter'.[2] Ḥasan was not senior to Khusrau, but was, in fact, born in the same year as his contemporary, and that the latter has also several fine odes in praise of Balban, we shall see later on.

To rersume our story, however, Khusrau and Ḥasan remained in Multan with the unfortunate prince till his death under tragic circumstances in the year 683 H. 'For five years', says Khusrau, 'I watered the five rivers of Multan with the seas of my delectable verses'.[3] Life there must have been comparatively dull for the lively poet. The court of the prince, no doubt, was resplendent in glory, his assemblies were attended by brilliant scholars, and his wine-parties were enlivened by famous musicians. But the city itself, lying amidst

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1 At one place only, in his dībācha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl, Khusrau mentions Ḥasan's name as a poet of distinction. While trying to prove the superiority of Persian poetry over Arabic poetry, he says : 'If anybody praises the hollow verse of Mu'izzī for the elegance of its style and the beauty of its ideas, he ought to study the words and ideas of Syed Ḥasan (sic), Niẓāmī and Zahīr'.

و اگر معزی بی مغزا را برای لفظ و حسن معانی احسن تحسین میفرماید معنی و
لفظ سید حسن و نظامی و ظهیر را مطالعه باید کرد*

(Ind. Off. MS., fol. 10 seq).

2 See Shibli : Shi'rul-'Ajam II, 116 n.1 : Akhbār-ul-Akhyār (Delhi, 1309 H.), p. 100.

3 *Dībācha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl.* By Multan, the poet here evidently means the whole province, watered by the five rivers, the Punjab, as it is now called. He is, of course, punning on the word بحر which means both 'Sea' and 'Metre' and on آب meaning 'Water' as well as 'Splendour, glory', etc.

a desert country far from the capital, with the Mongols always hammering at its gates, was, one would think, not a very pleasant place to live in for one who had been used to the ease and comforts of a life in Delhi. The poet had, moreover, to accompany the prince in his campaigns against the Mongols to sevral other more unpleasant and dreasry places—to the outlying fortresses on the frontier, garrisoned by the rough Afghans.[1] During his sojourn in one of these fortresses, he wrote a long letter to Ikhtiyāruddīn,[2] in which he bewalis his separation from Delhi and the hardships he had to endure.[3]

'My abode was', says he, 'the Arch of Islam, the "qibla" of the kings of the seven realms—Delhi, that twin-sister of the blessed Heaven, a tract of paradise on the surface of the earth. The nine skies cast their hallowing shadow over it and the seven realms are but like the chain[4] at ist gate. Its lofty palaces raise their heads to the skies and overshadow the sun itself, while its streets are so thronged with men that the eye roving on them is filled with images that leave no place even for the pupil of the eye.[5]......Its green fields are bedecked with roses, and its springs are brighter than bright eyes—running waters pleasant as life, like milk flowing through sugar. The tank of the Sultan, with its colours and illuminations[6] looks like molten silver cast into stone. Its gardens are full of pleasure-seekers, rose-cheeked beauties with pierced ears, bright as the pearls of their ear-rings. The melodies of the " 'ūd" and the "rabāb" that rise in the gardens intoxicate the trees and render the fountains drowsy. My days passed there in seeing new sights on all sides, and the nights in enjoying the company of a fair one. Perchance I was a burden to that fair garden,[7] so that fate has imprisoned me in this land of thorns—a fortress hot as the blazing furnace......full of beasts and brutes, like a wilderness....In this fortress live the Afghans — nay, man-slaying[8] demons, for even the demons groan in fright at their shouts. Their heads like big sacks

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1 The Afghan garrisons dated back from the time of Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd, when Balban was in charge of the north-west provinces.

2 The great noble, Malik Ikhtiyāruddīn Bektars Sulṭānī Bārbek, who led the expedition against Tughril.

3 Tuḥfat-us-Ṣighar (I.O. MS., 1187), fol. 50 seq.

4 حلقهٔ در literally the ring of the knocker.

5 I translate here freely. The reading is not very clear.

6 The original has (روشنائی) which may also mean 'brightness'. He is speaking of the Hauḍ-i-Samsī.

7 The original has 'dastān' but I read 'bustān'.

8 Mardumgīr, literally, 'man-catching'.

of straw,[1] their beards like the combs of the weaver, long-legged as the stork but more ferocious than the eagle, their heads lowered like that of the owl of the wilderness.[2] Their voices hoarse and shrill like that of a jack-daw, their mouths open like that of a shark.[3] Their tongue is blunt like a home-made arrow, and flings stones like the sling of a battering-ram.[4] Well has a wise man said that when speech was sent to men from the sky, the Afghans got the last and least share of it.[5]'

Yet he could come to his beloved city and meet his relatives at least once a year, for Prince Muhammad paid annual visits to the royal court, where he laid before the feet of his father such treasures as he had managed to collect during the space of the preceding year, and whence he went back to his provincial seat loaded with new favours and fresh blessing from his father.

Khusrau must by this time have been married. The verse translated above would tend to show this. Curiously enough, all his biographers are silent on this point, and we have no idea when or to whom he was married. But that he was married and had several children is evident from his own writings, as we shall see hereafter. These visits to Delhi, then must have been fraught with special interest and attraction for the poet. Probably he never took his wife and children with him to Multan. That was not the fashion of the day, and, then, it was not quite safe in those unsettled times to take one's women-folk about through regions that were constantly a scene of warfare and turmoil. He must have been contented during these five years to see his dear ones for just a few weeks in a year, and we can well imagine the sorrows of long days of waiting and the pangs of the tender and sad partings. It was, probably, at one of these sad farewells that he was moved to say:

'A great sorrow it is to be separated from the loved one. Ah, to whom shall I narrate the story of my doleful separation?'[6]

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1 Referring probably to their large unwieldy turbans, or to their big heads with unkempt plentiful crops of thick hair.

2 A very masterly caricature of the Afghans. The description would apply splendidly to a Pathan of the Indian frontier.

3 The original has (شارك) 'shārak', a talking bird of India, called generally 'mainā', but I render it by shark as a more appropriate word.

4 So their language was as harsh in those days as to-day. Pashto is proverbial for its hard, grating sounds.

5 I give the sense only. The reading is corrupt.

6 Qirān-us-Sa 'dain, p. 163.

سخت دشوار است تنها ماندن از دلدار خویش با که گویم حال تنها ماندن دشوار خویش

On the whole, however, this was perhaps the happiest period of the poet's life. He had established his claim to be the foremost poet of the age. He was still comparatively young, full of vigour and ambition, and each day mellower and richer strains came out of his lyre. His fame spread far and wide, and his fine odes in praise of the gallant prince were the envy of his rivals. He had now made the second collection of his poems, and the new 'dīwān' which he called 'Wasṭ-ul-Hayāt'[1] passed from hand to hand. He was known even in Persia, the land of roses and poetry, where Sa'dī, now an old man, was unquestionably the greatest master. It is said that Prince Muḥammad, always anxious to collect about him the greatest and the most celebrated scholars and poets of his age, wanted Sa'd also to come and settle at Multan. Twice he sent some of his trusted companions with rich presents to the old poet in Shiraz, inviting him to Multan, where he promised to build for him a 'khānqāh' and to endow it with the revenue of several towns and villages. But each time Sa'dī refused, on the ground of old age and feeble health, to leave his beloved Shiraz. However, he sent the prince a copy of a selection of his verses in his own handwriting, with profuse excuses, and a special recommendation of Amīr Khusrau, for whom he expressed a profound admiration.[2]

It is, 'perhaps, this incident that has helped the formation of a popular belief, namely that Sheikh Sa'dī in his old age came to Delhi expressly to see Amīr Khusrau.[3] That Sa'dī came to India at any period of his life has been the subject of a great controversy. He claims in his own works that he did so, and saw 'the ivory idol' of Somnath, as 'richly 'adorned as the Manāt' in Pre-Islamic Arabia,[4] and

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A very fine ghazal, another verse being :—

آنکه روزی ناوکی خورده است آن داند که چیست
درد مجروحی که نالد از دل افگار خویش

and another :

مرده را حسرت ز مردن نیست هست از بهر آنکه
باز می گیرند زو همصحبتان دیدار خویش

1 See infra (Poetical Works).

2 See Firishta : Text, V. I, p. 79 : and Badaoni V. 1, p. 130 (Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1868).

3 Daulat Shāh after Āzurī (Jawāhir-ul-Asrār), etc. One is astonished to read in the Cambridge History of India, V. III, p. 135 : 'Amīr Khusrau had a deep veneration for Sa'dī, whom he entertained when he visited India....

4 Būstān. بتی دیدم از عاج در سومنات مرصع چو درجاهلیت منات

the 'unclean mughs' worshipping round it.[1] Several scholars, however, are inclined to discredit the visit and to consider Sa'dī's account of it as 'an imaginary narrative analogous to those which one finds in the "Assembies of Harīrī"'. But as Henri Massé points out, in the absence of any proofs to the contrary, it is unfair to reject as fables all that Sheikh Sa'dī says of his visit to India, although it is possible that his account of the things he claims to have seen is highly coloured. A trip to India, either through the overland trade-route from Khwarizm and Khorasan to Sind, or by boat from Shiraz to the north-western coast of India, was nothing impracticable or impossible for a man who had spent a large portion of his life in wandering through'the extremes of the world',[2] mixing with diverse peoples and getting into all sorts of scrapes. According to Ibn-i-Khurdādbih, Jewish merchants came to India as early as 864 A.D. (250 H.), and, as De Massé asks pertinently, why should we be sceptical about Sa'dī's visit to India in the seventh century of the Hejira when we take for granted (as Barbier de Meynard does) that Mas'ūdī came to that country in the fourth century?[3]

But, although we may concede reasonably that the old master of Shiraz came to India, probably visiting Gujarat and Sind, we have absolutely no evidence to establish his visit to Delhi. On the contrary, the story is evidently a myth. An event of such importance, the visit of a famous poet of Persia, whose books were the talk of the whole of Asia and who was venerated and imitated by poets far and wide, to the brilliant capital of India, could not have been ignored by contemporary historians and other writers, and Khusrau, at least, must have made some allusion to it in his copious prose and poetic works.[4] Thus, although some very old authorities like Jāmī and Daulat Shāh assert that Khusrau met Skeikh Sa'dī, it is extremely doubtful that he ever

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1 Mugh or Magh, a magian or fire-worshipper. The Persians often confounded the fire-worshippers of their own country with the Brahmins of India.

(Ibid.) "مغان بی وضو گرد من در نماز"

2 Sa'dī : Ghulistān:

در اقصای عالم بگشتم بسی بسر بردم ایام باهر کسی

3 Essai sur le poéte Saadi' par Henri Massé (Paris, 1919), p. 40 seq.

4 According to J. Ross (The Gulistan, p. 19), Sa'dī visited Delhi between the years 607 and 633 of the Hegira. But, as Defrémery says : 'cette opinion de l'oriéntaliste anglais repóse uniquement sur une base ruineuse; la confusion d'Ogoulmisch, prince d'Irak, avec le soverain Patan ou Afgan de Delhi, Altmisch'. See Ibid., p. 45 and Defrémery : Gulistan (Paris, 1858), p. XXII. J. Ross says : 'If Amir Khusraw. . . .was, as Jami says and is generally believed, the youth Sa'dī in Gul., V. 17, got so much enraptured with at Cashghur. . . . Sa'dī was still a traveller in A. H. 641, or his 70th year'.

did so, or that the latter ever visited Delhi.[1] The two poets, however, knew each other, and while Khusrau, like so many other poets of that age, tried to show his veneration for the old master by imitating his style in lyrical poetry, the latter also condescended, as we have seen, to bestow his blessings and approval on the young disciple.

During the five years of Khusrau's stay in Multan, there were, apparently, several encounters with the Mongols. They came almost every year swooping down on the plains of the Punjab like hungry wolves, and only the most efficient organization and the keenest watchfulness could keep them off. Prince Muhammad was always on the look-out for them and, not content with repulsing their onslaughts, he probably led expeditions against them, and each victory provided a fresh theme for the poet to try his skill on. He is loud in praise of the prince's heroic exploits. 'Although each year', he sings, 'the Mongols come from Khorasan in serried ranks like storks, with owlish wings and ominous faces, at the time of their rout under the world-conquering sword of the Prince they are rent into morsels and then despatched to Kirmān (or worms). Fondly do the enemies yield up their ghosts wherever the Turks send the showers of their fatal arrows. Each time when an army of the enemies surging like the sea arrives, a new splendour is imparted to the dust of Multan.'[2]

But a catastrophe was approaching, and a cruel fate awaited the brilliant prince. In 683, in the last month of the year (i.e. Dhulhijja), the prince received news of the arrival of a Mongol force, twenty thousand strong, near Lahore and Dībālpur. The invaders were led by Timur[3] Khān who held the provinces of Hirat, Balkh, Badakshan, Ghaznin, Ghur, and Bamayan under Arghūn Khān, the grandson of Hulagu Khān. Timur came burning with thoughts of revenge for his relatives and kinsfolk killed in previous

1 According to Jāmī (Nafahāt-ui-Uns : Nassau Lees, 1859, pp. 110-11) Khusrau in his youth met Sheikh Sa'dī and he prided himself on the encounter; but he does not, as J. Ross says, identify him with the comely youth whom Sa'dī met at Kashghar. (See N. 3, p. 82, also Defrémery : Gulistān, p. XXIV, N. 3.) Daulat Shāh relates the incident on the authority of Azuri 's Jawāhir-ul-Asrār : (Daulat Shāh : Tezkira, p.239).

2 Wast-ul-Hayāt (I.O. MS., 1187), fol 89*b*. Kirmān is both the name of a town in Persia and the plural of 'kirm', a worm, and both meanings are apt here. It is interesting to note that the name Kirmān is in fact said to have been derived from 'kirm See for instance, 'The Glory of the Shia World' by Sykes and Ahmed Din (1910), pp. 83— 85, the Shāhnāmah, etc.

3 Badaoni, V. I, p. 132 and elsewhere has ايتمر (Itmar), while Barni has تمر. Prof. Habib (Life and Works), p. 15, adopts the reading I-tmar, following probably Badaoni. Timur is evidently the correct reading.

encounters, and hopes of rich plunder from the Land of the five Rivers. The prince at once prepared to meet him, and started in hot haste from Multan early in the morning, reaching the river Ravi (آب لاهور) at about midday. Timur crossed over and attacked the prince's army. A bloody and desperate struggle ensued. Several big Mongol chiefs were slain and their army was forced to retreat. The Indian generals, throwing caution to the winds in the excitement of victory, started in their pursuit. The prince was left alone with only five hundred followers, and coming to the river-bank he started to offer his midday prayers. A Mongol chieftain who had been lying in ambush with two thousand horse, saw his opportunity and fell upon the prince's army. Prince Muḥammad fought heroically, waging a desperate struggle, but an arrow from the famous Mongol bows struck him and he fell dead almost when his brave resistance had tired the Mongols and they were hastening away to join their retreating comrades. The Mongols now cut down mercilessly the panic-stricken followers of the dead prince, and plundering all they could get, and taking most of them prisoners, started back to overtake the main force.[1]

In his elegy on the sad death of Prince Muḥammad, Khusrau describes the campaign and its tragic end very vividly, and I give here a translation of portions of it:[2]

In this an affliction or a calamity that the sky has disclosed, and is this a disaster or the Resurrection itself that the world beholds to-day?'

What an inauspicious hour was that when the prince started with his army from Multan and drew his infidel-slaying sword to slaughter the unbelievers! When he received news of the enemy's approach, he at once donned the helmet and hoisted his flag. He started with whatever army he had in readiness and did not tarry for reinforcements, for a Rustam does not seek the aid of an army.[3] One swift move brought him to Lahore from Multan, for he was

1 For the account of this battle see *Firishta* Text, V. I, p. 82, *Barni*, pp. 109-110; Badaoni (Bib. Ind., 1868), V. I, p. 130 seq. Badaoni also gives an elegy in elegant prose by Hasan, the contemporary of Khusrau.

2 The elegy is a very fine specimen of Khusrau's poetry and is full of deep pathos. Note also its accuracy of detail, almost without any exaggerations or boasting. The poet describes the campaign just as it was,—an indecisive duel, wherein no party could claim victory, but which probably would have ended in a retreat of the Mongols (as it ultimately did) and so a success for the Indian troops, had not the whole thing been transformed into a tragedy by the prince's death. The reading adopted is from the India Off. MS., No. 1187 (Waṣt-ul-Ḥayāt, fol. 132*b* seq.). See also Badaoni, Vol. I, p. 138, where the elegy is given *in extenso*, only the reading is not quite correct.

3 "زانکه رستم را نباید منت لشکر کشیدن" literally 'for Rustam should not be indebted to an army'.

indignant that the enemy should have the audacity to raise their head in his domain. 'Am I not that lion', he said, 'whose sword, possessing the virtues of fire and water,[1] lays low in dust and ashes thousands of my foes each year? So much of their blood have I caused to flow like water that the vultures swim in it as the duck does in the river. This year the ground shall be dyed so red with their blood that the twilight will borrow its red tinge from the earth.'

'He started with this idea, but, alas! the heavenly fates drew across his plans the line of Divine Will. On the eve[2] of Muḥarram he went out with his armies to thrust his spear down into the throats of the foes, and entered the field, like Ḥusain of Karbalā, before the 'Āshūra[3] had come, the dust from his horse's hoof supplying collyrium for the Sun's eye. Unhappy hour when the enemy attacked him, crossing the river horde on horde till they drew close to his army! Then you could see the prince's charger clouding the sky with dust and scatterng the infidels like chaff in its stormy onslaught. You could see the sky resound with the shouts of the warriors and the earth tremble with the swft rush of his horsemen . The rumbling of drums, the neighing of horses, and the war-cries of the knights made plains, deserts, and mountains quake. The heroes attacked to wipe out the enemy, while the cowards sought pretexts to escape; but the brave, generous prince on that battlefield thought only of fighting like a man and urging his men to fight.

'The day grew dusky while they were engaged in this grim contest, and the sun grew pale as the bright spears met and clashed. Evening was falling when with the blue steel of the swords a sky was woven over the "sun" of the army, and the lines of swords in the two sides were like advancing shadows as the opponents closed in in the hand-to-hand duel.[4] The earth looked blue as armour touched armour and the plain became like a rose-garden when shield

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1 Being bright and bluish like water and destroying the foes as fire destroys fuel.

2 Ghurra, the new moon, whence the day preceding the commencement of a lunar month.

3 The 10th of Muḥarram, the date on which Ḥusain was slain in Karbala.

4 Reading the first word as سایه Badaoni (V. I, p. 141) has شانه (a comb) which is more appropriate. The verse is.

سایه (شانه) را مانست آن دو صف تیغ از هر دو سو

سرکشان چون موی در مو یکدگر بر بافتند

joned shield.[1] The dead lay on that field like figures woven into green tapestry, and still the armies fought till midday grew into evening, face to face, head to head and hair to hair, and during this time the prince's sword did not rest for a single moment from its slaughter of the foes. My God! was it blood that covered the ground or was it a sea-wave that advanced to drown the enemies? The wounded were dying and struggling in their agony, while from their throats streams of blood gushed upwards. One went to Hell and the other to Paradise, although the blood of the infidel and the believer flowed together in one stream.

'The Khān rode his glorious charger, reaching from place to place to arrange his men and to give instructions. The Sky seemed to be swinging Victory by the hair, now this way, now that way, although she wanted to run to us away from the accursed enemy.[2] The infidels awaited the arrival of night to slink away, but all at once the scales were turned.

'Horrible night when the sun fell from the sky! The demons went round burning the world and the meteor[3] lay helpless! The day of that Sun of the kingdom had reached its close and so although the day was not yet quite spent the sun had set! If Ḥusain trod a waterless way in Karbala, he (the Prince) was Muḥammad who fell in fire by the water. The hearts of men were pierced like a fish-net, for by the guile of the demon the seal of power had fallen into the river from the hand of Jem.[4] The infidel wallowed in blood like an ass in filthy mire and the believer lay on the earth like a bright pearl in a pool of dirty water. An army faced in the river the storm of disaster, while behold! another army went the way of the mirage.[5] All alike fell to earth, for the

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1 The shields in those days were evidently made of tanned red hide, or of some reddish metal, like copper.

2 باز پس میبرد گردون موگرفته فتح را   فتح هر چند از ملاعین جانب ما میدوید

A very picturesque way of describing the severity of the indecisive battle. The second line would tend to support the assertion that the victory had almost been won by the Indian army, when the prince fell dead. Prof. Habib (p.16)says: 'The field was irretrievably lost by the Indians, which is not true.

3 Shihāb, alluding to a verse in the Koran, wherein shooting stars are described as being hurled against demons to check their intrusion into the secrets of the skies.

4 The seal is here the prince, the demons are the Mongols and Jem is the king, alluding to the famous tale of Solomon.

These lines would show that the prince fell dead by the river's bank.

5 „فوجی اندر آب طوفان بلا را میگذاشت
فوج دیگر بین که در راه سراب افتاده بود„

dire calamity was a miniature Day of Judgment. The severed heads of the dead, strewn over the field, looked like Indian nuts[1] chased with bright vermilion. Many a live man was there who, scared to death, lay among the dead, his body smeared with gore and his eyes closed in sleep. Nay, surely it was not a mere debacle—verily I have seen the Last Day itself, for if such be the Last Day, I have seen it clearly.

'Behold how the heavenly decree turned, imparting to the Centre of Islam[2] the restless motion of a compass! Behold the particle assuming the glory of the sun's font, and behold the stone acquiring the lustre of the precious pearl![3]

'Each year the prince had to deal with the Mongols for the sake of Islam, and behold how at last he has given away his life also in that cause! He departed from this world on Friday, the last day of Dhulḥijja, the close of the year 683 and the commencement of 684.'[4]

It was indeed a terrible blow to India; this disaster at Multan, and the death of the prince who was universally loved, came as a great shock to the aged monarch. Firishta relates a story in this connection calculated to show that the terrible fate that befell the prince was the outcome of an estrangement between him and the saint Ṣadruddīn of Multan and that it was the spiritual power of that saint that sent him to this untimely death. It is said that the prince had once foolishly divorced his wife, an accomplished and virtuous princess, a daughter of Sultan Ruknuddīn Ibrāhīm, the son of Iltūtmish, but repenting soon after, he wanted to retract the hasty words that had severed the matrimonial bond.[5] This, however, according to the Islamic law could not be done, unless the wife had first been married to some other person after her divorce and then re-divorced by the second husband.[6] The princess, there-

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Alluding apparently to the foolish soldiers who deserted the prince in their pursuit of the Mongols, or the line may simply mean that 'an army disappeared like the mirage', referring to the large number of the slain.

1 The MS. has خون هندى evidently a mistake for جوز هندى a cocoanut. Badaoni (V. I, p. 144) gives the correct reading. Another possible reading may be خوان هندى Cocoanuts are chased even to-day to make bowls.

2 Meaning either Multan or Delhi itself.

3 Alluding to the Mongol success.

4 This is the correct date. Barni (p. 109) says : درشهور اربع و ثمانين و تسعمايه while Prof. Habib (Life and Works) gives the date as 687 A. H. (1285 A.D.) (p. 15).

5 According to Firishta, the prince had pronounced the formula of divorce three times, which makes the separation absolute.

6 Not certainly a very pleasant procedure. Its object would seem to be the discouragement of hasty divorces by infuriated husbands.

fore, much against the wish of the prince, was married to Sheikh Ṣadruddīn, on the understanding that the latter would divorce her, thus enabling her to return to the prince, but the princess refused to go back to a husband who was, as she is alleged to have said, 'a cruel reprobate',[1] and entreated the Sheikh to let her remain with him. So the Sheikh refused to divorce her, and the prince, flying into a rage, thought of murdering the Qāḍī[2] who had advised him to adopt the subterfuge. But then he said : 'It is useless to kill one like you, but by to-morrow if I don't dye the carpet of the Sheikh with his blood, I shall consider myself to be more powerless than the woman whom he holds back in his house'. He neither ate nor drank, and ordered his troops to gather and assault the dwelling of the saint. Consternation reigned throughout the city, but before the prince could execute the plan, he heard of the Mongol invasion and started in haste, proclaiming his intention of dire revenge against the Sheikh on his return from the campaign. But he never returned. 'The treasures of Kroesus that still travel deep in the bosom of the earth—know you that they reached there by the jealous displeasure of the derwishes ?'[3] says Firishta.[4]

To me the whole story seems to be as unreal as it is discreditable. No other historian mentions anything of the kind, and it is strange how Firishta, who praises the gentleness and sobriety of Prince Muhammad so greatly,[5] should here speak of him as a drunkard and a tyrant. Surely this is a slur on the fair nameof one of the noblest princes of India and seems to be a concoction of the wild imaginations of zealots affected by over-piety, who think the world is governed by saints and that their slightest displeasure can upset the whole order of things. If the event actually took place, no one would justify the conduct of the Sheikh, and it would seem monstrous that the prince should be so cruelly punished for his just resentment.

Be that as it may, however, the death of the prince was deeply mourned throughout the country. Many of his followers were killed with him, and many more taken prisoner. Among the latter was our poet, Amīr Khusrau. He describes his own captivity in a few lines as bitter as they are poignant.[6]

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1 Ẓālim-i-fāsiq.

2 His name is given as Amīruddin Khwarizmi one of the attendants and companions of the prince.

3 "گنج قارون که فرو میرود از قعر هنوز
خوانده باشی که هم از غیرت درویشانست"

4 Firishta Text (under Sheikh Ṣadruddin), V. II, pp. 410-11.

5 See supra.

6 He mentions the incident in the 'dibācha.' of Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl also, where he says : 'In that disastrous conflagration the infidels' cord, bound my neck too, but as God

'Know ye how this year near Multan the right wing[1] of the believers broke before the infidel onslaught? How shall I describe that calamity from which even the Angel of Death sought to flee away? Or how shall I depict the heroic attacks of the Ghāzi[2] like the attacks of Ḥaidar-i-Karrar[3] on the Khaibarīs? But how can one avert the divine decrees that issue from God Himself?......The blood of the martyrs drenched the soil like water, while cords tied the faces of the prisoners like flowers in a wreath. Their heads jostled in the knots of the saddle-straps and their throats choked in the nooses of the reins. Although I escaped alive from this painful calamity, I was taken prisoner and the fear of death left no blood in my thin and feeble body. I had to run head-long like a torrent, while with long tramping a thousand blisters arose on my feet like bubbles, and the skin of my feet was rent. Life appeared hard like the hilt of a sword on account of these hardships and the body had become dry as the wood in the handle of an axe[4] (?) with weakness ......Like an autumn tree, the body was naked, and torn into a thousand shreds by the painful lacerations of thorny bushes. Tears dropped from my eyes as pearls fall from the necks of brides. The despicable wretch[5] who drove me in front of him sat on his horse like a leopard on a hill; a foul stench came from his mouth and filthy moustaches hung on his chin.[6] If, on account of exhaustion I slowed down my pace, he threatened me by drawing out now his "tighāna" and now his "tughmār". I heaved sighs of despair and thought in my mind that I would never be able to escape ailve from this affliction.

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wanted to let me live longer, I escaped and fled from that path of destruction'.

"در آن کانون بلا مرا نیز رشتهٔ کافران گلو گیر شد اما چون خدای تعالی رشتهٔ
عموم دراز داده بود خلاص یافتم و آن شه ره بلا را لا زدم" *

1 Maimana, here used in the sense of 'yamin' the right hand, the emblem of strength and power.

2 One who fights for the faith, here, of course, the Prince.

3 Ḥaidar (=a lion) was the title of 'Alī, the 4th Caliph. Karrār, meaning literally one who attacks repeatedly, hence formidable in attack. 'Alī is proverbial for his bravery

4 Tugmār or Tughmār. Badaoni (p. 152) has چقمار.

5 Ḥarūna or ḥarūn, a refractory horse, here used as a term of contempt. Badaoni, p. 153, has قرونه

6 The original is stronger

کشاده از دهنش نکهتی چو بوی بغل   فتاده بر زنخش سبلتی چو مری زهار

But a thousand thanks to God who delivered me from it, the heart unpierced by arrow and the body unscathed by sword!'[1]

How exactly, the poet managed to escape, we do not know, but probably he regained his freedom very soon after his capture,[2] and perhaps by a lucky incident which he narrates elsewhere as follows:

'At the time when my wicked self (far be that hour from to-day!) fell into the hands of the Mongols, I had to tramp through a desert heaped with layers of sand, while my brain boiled like a cauldron with the intense heat. I and my captor on horse, alike thirsty, came on our way to a stream. Although I was terribly hot and thirsty, I did not pour oil on my naphtha by drinking too much water. I just moistened my lips, refreshing thereby my body so that my tormented soul found a little respite. But the thirsty rider and his still more thirsty steed both fell to drinking the pleasant water till they were satisfied, and so both died soon after.'[3]

The poet, then, returned to Multan. The whole city was in mourning. People mourned bitterly their dead prince and wept for their sons and relatives who had fallen round him. 'Even the sun and the moon wept for his handsome face, and the night and the day mourned his brief life. As the birds and the fish had also been in peace during his reign, the air and the water were full of moanings on his death. The inhabitants of Multan on all sides, in every alley and in each quarter, wept, rending their clothes and tearing their hair. With the loud cries of mournng and the beating of the drums,[4] no-

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1 (I.O. MS., 1187 : fol. 78 seq). These lines occur in a fine and lengthy ode which the poet calls 'Ḥukmul-Ḥikam'.

"سلامیست که حکم الحکم کنم نامش باتفاق حکیمان و حاکمان کبار"

Prof. Habib (pp. 16-17) gives a translation of these verses, taking for text the reading in Badaoni which is not very satisfactory. For instance, the verse quoted above (N. 6) is rendered—'and on his chin, there grew like a hyacinth, a tuft of pubic hair', because Badaoni (p. 153) has شنبلی for سبلتی which is absurd. The Mongols had hardly any beard and whatever they had could not very well be compared to hyacinth (Sunbul).

2 Shibli (Shi'rul-'Ajam, V. II,p. 114) says the poet was taken to Balkh by nis captors. This is highly improbable and is not supported by any authority. He is evidently misled by the term قبة الاسلام which Khusrau uses for Delhi, and not for the city of Balkh. Ahmed Said Māhrahrwī also makes the same mistake. (See Ḥayāt-i-Khusrau, p. 21 seq.)

3 Firishta (Text, Vol. I, p. 82) also thinks that he (Khusrau) got his freedom in the manner related in 'Khiḍr Khān and Dewalrāni'. (See Khiḍr Khān Dewalrānī, S.OS. MS., p. 43-44 for the original of the lines translated above). This shows clearly that the poet was not taken to Balkh, but escaped soon after his captivity, probably the same day. See also Prof. Habib's'Life and Works', p. 17, n. 20.

4 The drums were apparently beaten to keep the inhabitants prepared against a possible return of the Mongols and a night raid on the city.

body could sleep that night, for in every house there was some dead to be wept for ......The darkness of the Hindu and the whiteness of the Turk have both dis-appeared, for the two are alike dressed in deep blue....the fair ones no longer require indigo and rouge, for with slapping their cheeks are red and their eyebrows blue.'[1] The stragglers, pouring into the city after the rout, added to the grief of the stricken relatives. Anxiously they watched the thin stream of survivors to recognize a beloved face and familiar features, and wept in disappointment. 'If a captive returned from that bondage of affiction, they looked at his face and cried bitterly.'[2] The poet himself, although he had reason to congratulate himself on his escape, was stunned and bewildered. A few hours had sufficed to lay in dust the splendid army of the prince, to upset the glories of a hundred victories and to scatter like chaff the brilliant cortège that had gathered round him in his magnificent court at Multan. Many were the dear friends whom the poet was left to mourn. 'What avails', says he in his grief, 'my escape from the captor's cord, when the chain of friends and sympathizers is broken into pieces? The dust of the garden is now strewn with gay colours and the tulips impart to the desert the qualty of a chunār.[3] But alas! since the storm of disaster has scattered to dust those faces that looked like roses, the spring is turned into autumn! The world is full of roses, but the assembly is void of rosy faces; pray, how may my heart be not converted into blood, like that of the rose-bud? None of the last year's friends are left this year; oh that this year were the last year! Hand me the cup so that in my grief I may quaff it and fill it again with my tears. And thou too, O cloud of spring-tide, leave aside water and weep only blood like me! Now that the years have run to six hundred and eighty-four, I have reached the age of thirty-four—but to what purpose? For even if my years be thirty thousand instead of thirty and four, they are one when the end is annihilation, and even if I be a magician[4] and not a mere poet, I

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1 From the elegy quoted above.

2 Ibid.

3 The plane-tree, that is popularly supposed to contain fire in its stem on account of the ashy appearance of its interior when old and rotten. Dhauq, the Indian poet says :—

بجھنے کی دلکی آگ نہین زیر خاک بھی   ہوگا درخت گور پہ میری چنار کا

'The fire in my heart shall never be quenched; a chunār will grow even from my dust when I lie in my grave.' In fact the name may be a contraction of chūn-nār, 'like fire'. The red colour of the tulips is also often likened to fire, whence the simile in Khusrau's verse.

4 Jādūgar, meaning thereby a poet possessed of extraordinary power to charm men with his poetry. Khusrau often styles himself a 'sāḥir' or 'jādū' of India. For instance

know that dust awaits me: I may be Kaikhusrau and not simply Khusrau, but my destination is surely the cave.'[1] He says elsewhere, 'Alas! all at once the heart is melted into blood for my friends—for that pleasant throng of friends, now dead and gone. The eyes are now used to blood-streaked tears, since the dear friends made their last struggle in blood and water......If it be possible to raise from their dusty sleep the dead ones, I would willingly sacrifice what life remains to me to have them alive. It is a shame that my eyes can still see while the dear ones can no longer be seen: how can I see others instead of my friends? The friends are gone, whom shall I embrace now? The robes of those dead ones cannot fit everyone! Even if they strike off my head, the love of my friends I can never part with.'[2]

The death of the prince, moreover, gave a rude shock to the poet's ambitions, who hoped to rise to great and glorious heights under the patronage of a king so noble and so generous as Prince Muhammad would have made, had his life been spared. Long did Khusrau cherish the memory of his beloved patron, and years after the catastrphe he would say to his friends with a sigh: 'If fortune had been kind to us, Sultān Muḥammad would have been our king and patron now'.[3]

Khusrau now came back to Delhi, where the news of the disaster had caused bitter anguish. For months the people mourned and recited the elegies of Khusrau and Ḥasan. The old king, now above eighty years of age, tried to bear the blow with heroic resignation. He sat in his court and dispensed justice as usual, but his heart was broken. When he retired to his private chambers at night he could control himself no longer and wept freely. Prince Muḥammad had a son, Kaikhusrau, and to this prince Balban now transferred his royal love, and giving him the canopy and the dūrbāsh, made him the successor of his father at Multan and his own heir -apparent, in preference to his younger son, Bughrā Khān[4] for whom he never seems to have had much

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see Nuh Sipihr (I.O. MS., No. 1187), III, Sipihr (beg. fol. 43).

"لیک چو من جادوی این ناحیتم   هست بدانگونه بدل نیّتم"

1 From the qasida Hukmul-Hikam quoted above.

2 From the elegy (I.O. MS, 1187, fol. 132 *b* seq. and B.M. MS. No. 25087, fol. 49 seq.).

3 Barni, p. 68.

4 It would appear from Barni's account that Balban nominated Kaikhusrau his successor only after Bughra Khān had left him against his wish and had retired to Lakhnauti (see pp. 121-22 of Tarīkh-i-Firoz Shāhī), but in one of his elegies on prince Muhammad Khusrau says : 'When Kaikhusrau's forehead has been chosen for the crown, may there be a coronet of prosperity on Kaiqobad's head'.

"مخصوص شد چو تارک کیخسروی بتاج   بر فرق کیقباد ز دولت کلاه باد"

affection. Kaikhusrau went to Multan and did his best to restore to the city some of its past splendour and to uphold the tradition of his father. Meanwhile Khusrau remained in Delhi, or rather Patiyālī, with his mother, who was over-joyed to see her son return home safe from the terrible catastrophe and covered him with her motherly love and affection.

Balban, after this sad bereavement had sent for Bughrā Khān from Lakhnauti, and wanted to keep him beside himself, in his ailing condition and waning health. But the foolish prince, longing for the unlicensed pleasures of his court at Lakhnauti, and growing no doubt sick of rigorous control over himself under the eyes of his puritanic father, soon went back to Bengal, much against his father's wish. The old king, however, got worse soon after his departure, and feeling the end approaching, he called to his bedside Malik ul-Umarā, the veteran kotwal of Delhi, and the vizier Khwaja Husain, with other nobles, and in their presence appointed Kaikhusrau heir to his crown and throne.[1]

But the Malik ul-Umarā, who had a grudge against Prince Muhammad,[2] did not want his son to sit on the throne of Delhi. He saw the prince safely sent away to Multan, and as soon as the aged monarch closed his eyes and his corpse, taken out from the Red Palace amid the loud lamentations of the nobles, was consigned to dust, he announced the accession to the throne of the young son of Bughrā Khān, Mu'izuddīn Kaiqobād.

Thus it was that in the year 685 A. H., Kaiqobād, a handsome youth of eighteen, came to the coveted throne of Delhi, superseding his own father and his cousin Kaikhusrau. Accomplished, generous, good-natured, and with a refined taste for poetry and music, the young prince had passed the eighteen years of his life under a strict discipline. His grandfather had appointed over him guardians and instructors who, while they saw that he acquired all that was necessary for an accomplished prince, allowed him no liberty of action. 'He could not glance at a fair face or drain a goblet of wine.'[3] And then, all at once, he became the king of a rich and prosperous kingdom, the sole master of fine palaces and beautiful slaves. The result, of course, was what it usually is in the case of pent desires finding suddenly an outlet. He gave himself up freely to pleasure, and his nobles followed suit. 'The idlers had their day now. Pleasure-hunters, roisterers, joy-seekers, buffoons

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(B.M. M S. No. 25807, fol. 51); which shows clearly that Balban had made Kaikhusrau his heir long before he died.

1 Barni, p. 122. See, however, Note 4 supra.

2 Barni refuses to indicate he cause of this grudge, on the plea that it would involve the revelation of undesirable things.

3 Barni, p. 128; of Firishta Text, Vol. I, p. 83.

and fools, who had been hushed, and had lain in ignominy, idle and unemployed, found ample work now. Under the shadow of every wall appeared a peri, and from every balcony a houri displayed her charms; in every alley there arose a musician and singer, and from every quarter a bard and composer raised his head.'[1]

The king soon left the city of Delhi and retired to a fine castle with beautiful gardens at Kiloghari,[2] where his court was thronged with musicians, dancers, buffoons, and fools. Most of the nobles also built palaces about the royal residence and their petty courts were as gay as that of their master. 'Indulgence and sin prevailed. Mosques became empty, and the wine-taverns were crowded. No one remained in the "zāviyāhs", while tall inns arose on all sides and wine became ten times as dear as it had been before.'[3] The assemblies of the king were resplendent and unforgettable, and were enlivened by Ḍiya Jhujji and Ḥusam Darwesh, two famous jesters of the time.

Amīr Khusrau, meanwhile, had attached himself to the brilliant Malik 'Amīr 'Alī Sarjāndār known as Ḥātim Khān, but he was soon invited to the royal court. Amīr Khusrau, however, ignored and avoided the invitation for some time. He was afraid of the machinations of the cunning minister, Malik Niẓāmuddīn, and had also, perhaps, some moral scruples in accepting service under Kaiqobād who had supplanted the son of his former master.[4] Ḥātim Khān, true to his reputation, loaded the poet with riches. 'From his ocean-like hand', says Khusrau, 'I received so many trays full of gold that they would have enabled my children and grand-children to live a life of honour

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1 Barni, p 129. It was during this period of gaiety and splendour that Khusrau wrote a ghazal in which he says : 'Oh, Delhi and its young beauties with turbans placed roguishly awry on their heads! ....wherever they stroll the path blooms forth with moving flowers....They stroll along, while in their wake follow their lovers with bloody tears flowing from their eyes. These saucy young Hindus have made the Musalmans sun-worshippers....' (Qirān-us-Sa'dain, p. 29) :

ای دهلی و ای بتان ساده   پگ بستهٔ و ریشه کج نهاده
خون خوردن شان باشکارا ست   گرچه پنهان خورند باده
فرمان نه برند زانکه هستند   از غایت ناز خود مراده
جائیکه بره کنند گلگشت   در کوچه دمد گل پیاده   الخ

2 For Kiloghari, see infra.

3 Barni, p. 130.

4 The poet says himself : (Dībācha of Ghurratul-Kamāl)—'The king invited me, but in those days the chief man in power was Malik Niẓāmuddin, who, for some reason, had a grudge against me. I was afraid lest he might entangle me in some trouble and so sought safety in avoidance, and found a shelter in the shadow of the cloud-like hand of Ḥatim Khān,

and prosperity, if I had not squandered away the wealth like worthless atoms but had stored and saved it'.[1]

Malik Niẓāmuddīn, a nephew and son-in-law of Malik-ul-Umarā Fakhruddīn, the Kotwal, was a cruel and cunning conspirator, who soon insinuated himself into the favour of the king and practically ruled the kingdom. Kaiqobīd was content to live peacefully amidst wine and music in his New Palace, 'a vast paradise, built by the river Jumna, whose white terraces rubbed their heads against the sky and whose plastered bricks shone like glass and reflected the beautiful gardens around it'.[2] Niẓāmudd n began his despicable career by inducing the king to send for Kaikhusrau from Multan and to have him killed. The unfortunate prince was murdered near Rohtak on his way to Delhi, and Niẓāmudd n further succeeded in intimidating all his opponents by a summary and dishonourable punishment of Khwāja Khaṭīr, the minister, for some slight breach of discipline.

About this time the Mongols again invaded India and laid waste the whole of the country between Sāmāna and Lahore.[3] The news reached the king while, perhaps, he sat in his splendid court amidst gorgeous surroundings; rows of richly caparisoned horses, and elephants; an artificial garden of gold and silver, rubies, pearls and emeralds, a rich crown on his head, about his august person a cloak of pearls and gold brocade, so that pearls glittered all over his body,[4] and he was roused from his sleep. He despatched one of his generals against them,[5] and himself subsided into his wonted stupor.

The Mongols were forced to retreat, after a great slaughter, and a large number of them were taken prisoner. The victorious general returned to

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1 Ibid. :—

"ازان کف دریا موج چندین کشتیٔ زر یافتم.........که اگر آنرا بادبان هباء منثور نکشادمی یا آنکه لنگر کردمی هم زادگان زادگان من توانستندی که عمری بآبروی بکران برند"

He puns in this passage on the dual sense of the word 'Kasnti', a tray and a boat or ship.

2 Qirān-us-Sa'dain, p. 42. The palace at Kiloghari built by Kaiqobād.

3 Khusrau, Ibid.

"از حد سامانه و تا لاهنور (لاهیور) هیچ عمارت نه مگر در قصور"

Elliot (iii, p. 527) translates : 'From the boundary of Samāna as far as Lahanur (Lahore) not a house was left standing except at Kasur', misinterpreting the word 'قصور' here as the name of a town.

4 A fine passage from Ibid. Note especially the verse :

آب دُر از تاج و قبایٔ کمر تا بکمر تا بگلو تا بسر

5 Khusrau gives his name simply as Bārbek. Firishta says that Malik Bārbek Birlas (Bektars?) and Khān-i-Jahān were deputed to fight the Mongols.

Delhi with the captives, and the king received him at Tilpat[1] with great honour and applause. The heads of the slain Mongols, mounted on lances, were displayed, then the spoils, consisting of Tartar horses and arms, and then the prisoners, tied in cords. Most of these last were put to death by being thrown under elephants' feet, and the rest were ordered to be taken out and paraded in the streets in disgrace.[2]

Niẓāmuddīn now added a fresh villainy to his already black record by obtaining from the king a mandate to put to death the Mongols who had embraced Islam and had been for some time settled in and outside the city. He convinced the king that their presence in the capital was a constant menace to the safety of the kingdom, for they were rich and powerful and had sympathies with their kinsmen, and might some day rise in revolt. Thousands of these unfortunate and innocent persons, men, women, and children, were brutally murdered or exiled, and their houses destroyed or confiscated. Even those who had any connection with them, however slight, were imprisoned and sent to out-of-the-way places far from Delhi.[3]

Bughrā Khān, in his refuge at Lakhnauti, had heard of his son's accession, and had received the news, we may suppose, with a sad and wistful resignation. He was not ambitious and after all, was it not his own son, his flesh and blood, who sat on the throne of Delhi ? Moreover, he remembered his father's advice to remain true to the king of Delhi, whoever he might be. But the black deeds of Niẓāmuddīn, the reckless life of his son, and the growing discontent all over the country, produced some effect upon him too. Here was a chance for him to regain the throne he had lost by his folly.

So the ' Sun of the East ' marched from Lakhnauti towards the capital, ' like a storm with several thousand horsemen and numerous infantry ', and crossed the river in large boats ' like houses floating on water '.[4] Kaiqobād advance to meet him in the middle of the month of Rabī-'ul Awwal, with ' an

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1 Or Talpat, near Delhi. The king was already on his way to Lakhnauti.

2 Khusrau Qirān-us-Sa'dain, p. 75. See also Elliot iii, p. 528 and Prof. Habib's 'Life and Works of Khusrau', p. 48 seq. The latter interprets the verse:

شاه بفرمود که آرند پیش   گاو قوی هیکل و نرگاو میش

as 'the cows and the male buffaloes (*i.e.* Mongol women and men)'. etc, I, however, think the poet does not mean that. It is very improbable that the invading Mongols had any women with them and the line is quite capable of the translation given by Elliot.

4 Qirān-us-Sa'dain, p. 110 seq. Khusrau mentions the names of various kinds of boats employed, e.g. Bahr-i-rawān, Lāhira, Batwā, Laur or Lūr, etc. and gives their characteristics.

army more numberous than the particles in the sunlight',[1] and after three halts, each of which witnessed fantastic scenes of drinking and merrymaking, reached the Jumna and crossing the river came to Jeypur.[2] B rbek, with other generals, was here deputed to go in front of the royal army. He crossed the Ganges and came to the Sarū[3] where he found Bughrā Khān's army encamped on the other bank. The king also, with his nobles, soon arrived there and encamped opposite his father's army. Among the nobles who had accompanied the kind was Ḥatim Khān. Khān-i-Jahān, the patron of Khusrau, and the poet thus made his second journey to Oudh, and saw, with his own eyes,[4] the whole drama of this unnatural conflict between father and son—a conflict which, however, ended happily. In the Qirān-us-Sa'dain he describes at great length all the developments since the king's march from Delhi.

The two armies, then, lay facing each other, while messages, containing threats couched in polite and affectionate terms, passed between father and son. Some of the sensible and experienced nobles in both the camps, however, succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation Prominent among these was Shamsuddīn Dabīr, who had been with Bughrā Khān ever since Balbin appointed the latter governor of Lakhnauti. Bughrā Khān sent his son Kaikāus with rich presents across the river, and in response to this gesture of peace and goodwill Kaiqobād sent to Bughrā Khān's camp his infant son, Kiâmurth, with embroidered cloth of Cathay and Iraq, rich silks, youthful slaves, camels, and precious stones.[5] They way was now paved for a meeting between father and son, and on an auspicious day[6] Bughrā Khān crossed the

1 Ibid., p. 68. Cf. Elliot (iii, p. 528) and Cowell's article in J.A.S.B., 1860.

2 Elliot (iii, p. 529) has Jewar, but Cowell (in the article quoted above, p. 231) read rightly Jeypore.

3 Elliot reads Sarjū. Both names are correct. The Sarū, Sara'u or Sarjū, as it has been variously designated, is the river more commonly called Ghāgra or Gogrā, a tributary of the Ganges.

4 It is clear from Khusrau's own account (see infra) that Khān-i-Jahān was appointed governor of Oudh when the king was returning from Lakhnauti, so that the Khān must have accompanied the king from Delhi and so also Khusrau, who was already in his service. See Qirān-us-Sa'dain, where he says: من که بدم چا کر او پیش ازان.

5 Among the silks are mentioned 'Khazz', 'Aksun', and 'Parniyan,. Bughra Khan is said to have sent his son with aloe-wood, spices, musk, ambergris, camphor, sandalwood, Indian swords and elephants. Qirān-us-Sa'dain, p. 100 seq.

6 It would appear from Khusrau's letter to Najmuddīn Ḥasan that this meeting took place on the second day of Kaiqobād's arrival at the river Sarū. See I'jaz-i-Khusrawī. R.V., p. 51.

river to a splendid boat of sāl-wood prepared in ten years'. Bughrā Khān on beholding his son was moved to tears, and Kaiqobād, equally affected, got down from his throne, ran to his father, flung himself on his shoulder, and the 'two thirsty rivers united — thirsty, though their eyes were flooded with tears'.[1] The rejoicing was great. Thereafter several meetings took place between the two princes and their retinues passed and repassed the river to see friends and to rejoice at the fortunate close of the episode. Feasting and merrymaking went on for days. Poets composed odes, and musicians sang them. Khusrau also shared in the general happiness.

'Happy the country when two kings are reconciled, and happy the assembly where two cups are mingled into one. The son a king, the father also a sultan—behold now the glory of the kingdom, for two sultans are one! To rule and govern the world two mighty rulers have united. One is the Helper of Time, Maḥmūd Sultan, whose power extends over the four quarters[2] of the kingdom, and the other is the Glory of the World, Kaiqobād, under whose sway Īrān and Tūrān have become one'.[3] This is how he celebrates the reconciliation. He had met there some of his old friends and the few days that he king passed beside the river Sarū were spent in pleasant reunions and gatherings of literary men in the camps. Khusrau met again his dear friends Shamsuddīn Dabīr and Qāḍi Athīr and in a long letter to Najmuddīn Hasan, the poet, he describes the meetings and the visits, that they paid to one another. 'Happy the day one passes with his dear ones after a thousand nights and a thousand days of separation'; he says in it.

Kaiqobād now bade farewell to his father who, at the conclusion of a last tender meeting, gave his son (as Balban used to give him) various pieces of advice concerning the reformation of his conduct and of the state policy, requesting him especially to do away with Nizamuddīn who had been his evil genius from the very commencement of his reign.[4]

Khusrau also returned with the royal army. The rains had now commenced, and Kaiqobād proceeded slowly. At Gantpore[5] he appointed

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روز اول این دو بحر زاخر بوجه توجّه اگرچه آئینه آب درمیان بود مواجه نمودند ,,مرج البحرین یلتقیان بینهما برزخٌ لایبغیان'' روز دیگر قران سعدین و اجتماع نیّرین گردش دورانرا ارزانی داشتند*

1 Qirān-us-Sa'dain, p. 113.

2 The original has 'arkān' which means more correctly 'pillars' or corners.

3 See Badaoni, V. 1, and I.O. MS., No. 1187, fol. 91.

4 The only favour Bughrā Khān asked for himself was that Kaiqobād should give him the white umbrella and the black cap which his father (Balban) had left. (See Qirān-us-Sa'dain.)

5 Elliot has Kintapur.

Ḥātim Khān governor of the province of Oudh. 'So I', writes Khusrau, 'who am like a ray of that sun, could not return to my home and was obliged to stay in that country. The peerless malik, in order to obtain the mandate of governorship, girt up his loins to accompany the royal stirrup under the auspicious shadow of the canopy and turned me back.[1] In obedience to the order of that master, I had to sever myself from the company of my friends in the royal army and to travel back to the darkness of Hindustan,[2] the realm of Saturn. It was the rainy season, and I had to travel during the time when the rains were heaviest........My eyes rained tears at the parting from my friends, and the clouds wept with me in sympathy. My horse's foot stumbled in pools of water and the lightning laughed in mockful glee...... The trickling drops of rain indicated my tears and the flashes of lightning the burning of my heart. In this sad plight did I at last reach Oudh.'[3]

He was not happy there. He longed for Delhi and the friends he had left behind. In a long letter that he wrote to Tājuddīn Zāhid from Oudh, he says :' When I parted from you as a shadow deprived of light, I started on my journey, shedding tears of blood from my eyes. The heart and the eyes longed : the path lay in front but I looked behind. I went on, but my grief increased and my tears flowed more rapidly than my feet moved. I had no provisions except sorrow and remembered naught but yourself. Weeping I started at every stage with the royal army on the journey, till after a long march of two months when the king arrived at Oudh, he was pleased to bestow on our Khān the governor ship of that province. The city of Oudh[4] was entrusted to the Khān, and a slow poison was henceforth my food. Though I had no patience I was forced to stay there. The city of Oudh is, no doubt, charming, but without you nothing seems pleasant to me. It is a city, nay, a garden, where one can easily live happy and contented. Its ground is the ornament of the earth, and its surroundings abound in pleasure. The river Sarū[5] flows by it, and the mere sight of it quenches one's thirst. All essentials

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1 Apparently the Malik proceeded to Delhi, sending Khusrau back to Oudh.

2 It is interesting to note that Hindustan, as distinct from Hind which denoted the whole of India, was the appellation bestowed in those days on the eastern provinces. Even now the Punjabis call Delhi and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh by the name of Hindustan. Khusrau says in the same letter (to Shams-i-Dabīr who had been living in Lakhnauti) :

„ دیدم که از عفونت هوای ٔ هندوستان آن چشمه بر آب خود نمانده بود "*

3 The letter was written in Rajab 687 H. I'jāz-i-Khusrawī R. V., 49 seq.

4 Here written as اودهه is often transcribed as عیوض in Persian histories. It is the old city of Ayodhya.

5 The MS. has سره , evidently a mistake.

of happiness are plentiful; flowers and wine are numerous and abundant. The branches of the trees in its orchards bow down to the ground with their load of fruit. There are grapes, limes, pomegranates and oranges, and a hundred other fruits with Indian names, sweet and luscious, like bananas and mangoes that refresh the brain. In the gardens there are flowers that bloom for ever, and the air resounds with the sad, sweet melodies of birds. The mūlsarī, the chamba, the jai,[1] crowd the gardens, and there is the kewṛa like a silver spear before which the rose lays its life...... Then there are all sorts of perfumes and spices, sandal, aloe-wood, ambergris, musk, camphor and cloves, and cloths that redeem the past life, decoration of the person and ornament of the body—like jhanbartalī and bihārī that are like a pleasant gift of spring-tide and sit as lightly on the body as moonlight on the tulip or a dewdrop on the morning rose.

'The inhabitants are hospitable and courteous, good-tempered and well-mannered, faithful and generous. Rich and poor are content and happy, busy with their work, art or trade. The governor is the great malik, the victorious Khan, Ikhtiyār-uddīn[2]...... who is entitled Ḥātim Khān, 'Alī bin Āibak. His companions receive precious gifts of pearls for an ode in his praise and to me especially he always shows fresh favours and new attentions.. .... Thus, although I lack not in means of happiness and do not complain of want, the separation from you has almost brought me to the brink of the grave...... Never do I empty a glass of wine, but refill it with my blood. Why do you imagine me sitting among cups of wine, amidst music and singing? Behold the wine of tears flowing from my eyes, and listen to the lament of my burning heart! Although my cup is filled with wine, without you it tastes to me like poison, for although the rose can live for a while in a flower-vase, it soon dies when away from its parent tree......'[3] His mother was in Delhi, and the prolonged absence of her son in her old age made her anxious

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1 Indian flowers, the last-named of which is probably what is usually called Jūi or Jūhī. For a description of these and other flowers, see Abul Faḍl Āin-i- Ākbarī, Blochmann, 1877, p. 99 seq. Mūlsarī is written in the MS. as tūlsarī, and as bhūlsarī in Abul Faḍl. Khusrau describes the kewṛā flower at length and praises it at other places in his works also.

2 The full name of the Khān would seem to be Ikhtiyāruddīn 'Alī bin Āibak Khān-i-Jahān. Ḥātam Khān.

3 A fine poem in mathnawi form written in a wonderfully simple but elegant style and containing 263 verses. He says himself : 'As there is no affectation in my grief, I have employed no affectation in my letter'.

چون نیست تکلّفی بدردم * در نامه تکلّفی نه کردم

Tājuddīn Zāhid to whom the letter is addressed was a great friend of Khusrau. He calls him : مخدوم برادر گرامی

(I.O. MS., No. 1186, immediately after the conclusion of Miftāḥ-ul-Futūḥ).

for his return. 'The Khān's kindness', he tells us, 'rendered the strange land so pleasant that I almost forgot my own home. For two years I had no concern or anxiety about riches, but I had left my home and kin simply for the sake of my master. My mother, now an old, devout woman,[1] was in Delhi and missed me very much. She passed her nights and days in restless anxiety and concern about my worthless self, and in her sorrow and grief at my separation wrote letters asking me to return. My heart was also full of pain for her, but I tried to while away my sorrow for some time.[2] When, however, I could control my longing no more, and my yearning could no further be repressed, I put my case before my master in an application. The Khān, true to his generosity, saw my helplessness, and willingly gave me his kind permission to leave for my home. He gave me also two trays of gold coins to meet the expenses of the journey, so that, full of gratitude for his magnanimity, I set out on my homeward path. Fond longing dragged me on, and tears flowed from my eyes,......and I had no provisions with me except the anxious desire to see my mother. I traversed the way like a swift dart or like a flying arrow, making no halt for a month, for the way was long and the yearning intense, till, happy like the moon of 'Id,[3] I reached the city of Delhi in the month of Dhulqa'd. Smiling like the rose I cast my hungry eyes on the beloved faces, satisfying my desire to see my friends and gaining the object of my heart, as a bird, who has seen the rigours of autumn, comes back to a spring-tide garden, or a thirsty man reaches the Fountain of Life.

'My heart that had died with sorrow, revived at the sight of my dear ones, and with a thousand humble professions of grateful love, I placed my eyes on my kind mother's feet. My mother, whom the separation from me had rendered ill, seeing me, removed the veil from the face of kindness,[4] and held me in her embrace, shedding tears of joy. Her afflicted heart was soothed, and she fulfilled the vows she had made.'[5]

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1 Subhazan, literally 'turning the beads of the rosary', a favourite occupation of old folk in the east, when they become unfit for any other work.

2 Cf. Elliot (iii, 532 seq.).

گرچه دلم هم زغمش بود ریش * چند گهش راه ندادم بخویش

he translates this verse as : 'Though my heart was wounded at her grief, I did not like to ask her to come to me', which is not at all a correct interpretation.

3 Mahi-'Id, the emblem of joy and pleasure, is also used metaphorically to denote a person whom one sees only after a long time and anxious waiting.

4 This is the literal translation. The idea is simply that she showed her kind, motherly love.

5 A common practice among women in India even to-day. They would vow to give a sum of money or to feed the poor, if their wish is fulfilled. Qirān-us-Sa'dain, pp. 168 seq.

The poet was now again in Delhi. He had, as we have already seen, refused an offer from Malik Niẓāmuddīn to enter the ranks of the court poets. The crafty minister was probably still in power,[1] and the young king, who had relapsed into his old habits soon after his return from Lakhnauti, let him still rule as he pleased. Kaiqobād bade farewell to his father with promises, perhaps sincere, to reform his conduct, but he was helpless before the temptations with which his designing minister managed to surround him. The fame of his fondness for dancers and musicians, jesters and buffoons, had reached the remotest parts of the country, and hosts of fair and gorgeously-decked dancing girls and boys intercepted his advance at every stage of his journey back to Delhi, displaying their charms and skill to lure the repentant king back to the paths of folly. The king tried to resist the temptation, but he failed, and falling a prey to the 'killing' eyes of beautiful dancers and the sparkle of the ruby wine, he sank lower and lower into the depths of licentious debauchery.[2]

He had, however, an affectionate nature, and still kept a fond memory of his father in his heart, and so, soon after Khusrau's return to Delhi, he sent for him, asking him to compose a poem commemorative of his meeting with his father on the banks of the Sarū. Khusrau himself narrates this event as follows:

'Two days after my arrival in Delhi the news reached the king, and his chamberlain called on me, giving me the glad tidings of the king's desire to see me. I at once rose up and made the requisite preparations, and composed a fresh panegyric.[3] Then I went and laid my cheek on the dust before the king, the body bent in homage and the heart full of awe. I opened out the poem and recited it in a loud voice, and when the king heard my fine verses, he diverted his affections from his other companions, gave me two bags of gold coins, and ordered a special allowance for me. I was selected to take an honourable position among his most favoured boon-companions. When the king had thus rendered me happy with his generosity and had converted my poverty into affluence, he spoke thus: "O Last[4] of the Poets, the remnants of whose table serve as food for others, we have a favour to ask from you. If you, with the help of your bright imagination, can satisfy my request, I shall give you as much gold as you ask for, so that you shall never feel the pain of want". When the king's munificence imparted this welcome news

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1 According to Firishta, Kaiqobād had him poisoned just before his own death. See also Barni, p. 170.

2 See Firishta, Vol. I, p. 87, and Barni, pp. 165—160.

3 He had already composed several odes in praise of the young king.

4 Khatm ,the end, the seal, just as Khatm-ur-rusul or Khātimul-Mursalīn is the title of the Prophet. The sense is ' the most perfect'.

to me, I hastened to his presence, swift as the wind, with due homage, and said: "O Jem-like king, the equal of whom the throne[1] has never beheld even in dreams, who am I, a grateful slave of yours, that one like you should ask anything of me? It is you who give to every beggar what he wants. What could you require from one like me? The garden does not seek colour and perfume from the rose, and the cloud does not borrow water from the drop. Even if the king, whose sway holds all the world in bondage, asks me my life, it is already his. Whatever I reap from my twisted mind and dull, weak thought, is only bad Persian (poetry). If your Majesty's desire can be fulfilled with that, I shall count myself fortunate to do so." When I thus tendered before the king the excuse of my incompetence, the king replied thus: "What I desire from you O wizard, is that, heedless of hardships, for my sake, you give a soul to the lifeless body of poetry by describing the meeting of the two sultans—that you should compose, with the magic of your tongue, the story of my encounter with my kind father, so that if the sorrow of parting overwhelms me, the perusal of that story may calm my heart". Saying this, the king made a sign with his eye to the treasurer. The treasurer hurried me out of the royal presence and gave me a golden seal (?)[2] and a royal robe. Strange that I should be chosen for such an honour— that my profit be so heavy while I have no commodity in my hand! My pen is innocent of all skill and my paper is devoid of any rich gloss.'[3]

Nevertheless, Khusrau undertook the task and did it with an energy, attention, and labour that have made some historians wonder. Why, they ask, should Khusrau have wasted his energy and time, and demeaned his art, in the composition of a long and fine poem for the sake of a monarch like Kaiqobād, a rake and a drunkard?[4] But we must remember that Kaiqobād, in spite of his faults, was a very lovable man. He was extremely handsome, witty and good-natured, generous and kind, and very appreciative of merit. Khusrau's odes on his accession show a marked feeling of admiration for the unfortunate youth who, on account of circumstances not entirely in his own control, fell a victim to his passions and took to courses that soon led him to his untimely grave. He was, moreover, of very noble birth. His grand-

1 The reading of the text is bakht (fortune), but I think that takht gives a better sense.

2 The text has muhr-i-zar, which may mean 'gold coins'.

3 نی قلمم را ز هنر بهرهٔ * نی ورقم را ز گهر مهرهٔ Muhra is a burnisher used for imparting a gloss and smoothness to paper. It was indispensable in old days when calligraphy was an art and the paper was not very smooth.

4 See for instance Abul Faḍl : Āīn-i-Akbarī (Text), I, 534.

father, Balban, was the husband of a daughter of Sultan Shamsuddīn Iltūtmish, and he himself was born of a daughter of Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd, the son of Iltūtmish, so that both his grandfathers were kings.[1] Lastly, he was very generous and was the first king who took Khusrau into his service, and Khusrau, after all, was not insensible to the great lure of gold and a gilded rank.

'I returned', he says, "to my humble abode from the royal palace with shame and confusion. My neck bent under the load of pearls, and it was now my duty to serve the king. With the tablet of my heart in my hand, I retired to a corner, my wits confused and my thoughts scattered. I hid myself from my fellow beings—nay, from both men and genii. Soon the stream of ideas arose from my heart and the pen became smoky with the fire of my mind.[2] As I had placed my trust in God while busy in thought, my dusty, sordid mind produced a treasure.'

The treasure was, of course, the well-known mathnawī Qirān-us-Sa'dain which, the poet, according to his own version, completed in Ramaḍān, 688 H., after the ceaseless labour of six months.[3] This was his first long poem, and in some respects perhaps, unique, not only among the poet's own works but in the whole range of Persian poetry.[4]

The poet who was now thirty-six years old, became henceforth the poet-laureate of Kaiqobād, but the profligate monarch was already sinking fast. He had ruined his health by his excesses, and as if in a foolish attempt to retrieve what he had lost by getting rid of the man who was to a great extent responsible for this miserable condition, he had Malik Niẓāmuddīn poisoned, and invited Malik Jalāluddīn bin Fīrūz Yaghrish Khaljī from his provincial seat at Sāmāna to take up the duties of Āriḍi-Mamālik.[5] The king's indisposition, however, assumed a dangerous form and developed into palsy and

1 Khusrau says of him (Qirān-us-Sa'dain, pp. 17-18) :—

پشت به پشت از دو طرف شهریار * هر طرف از هر دو طرف تاجدار
شمس جهانگیر جد با فرش * اظهر من شمس جد دیگرش
ناصر حق شاه فرشته سرشت * خوي خوششں نسخهٔ باغ بهشت
جدّ سوم شاه شاه غیاث اسم * حاکم فرمان ز عرب تا عجم
هر سه جدش کعبهٔ ارکان جود * کرده دو عالم سه جدش را سجود

2 The reed pen is most often smoked to give it a rich dark colour, and frequently patterns are formed by covering portions of it with thread while it is being smoked.

3 Qirān-us-Sa'dain, p. 174.

4 See infra.

5 He was already the governor of Samana and sarjāndār, and now received the title of Shāstī Khān. In Barni (p. 170), this title is distorted into Siyāsaṭ Khān.

paralysis, that confined him to his bed. Meanwhile the nobles were already busy conspiring. His little son, Kiāmūrth was proclaimed king by the Turks, but the Khaljī party under Jalāluddīn were opposed to the Turkish party,[1] and the rivalry led to bloodshed. The Turks were overpowered and scattered, and Jalāluddīn became the head of the kingdom as the guardian of the infant king. He soon got rid of Kaiqobād, who was mercilessly murdered by a Turk who had some grudge against him, while he lay on his bed a helpless and hopeless wreck, the mere ghost of his former handsome self. It was also not long before Kiāmūrth was set aside, and Jalāluddīn assumed the title of Sultan, exchanging his white umbrella for a black one[2] that had been the royal prerogative of his masters, and thus putting an end to the dynasty founded by the slaves of the Ghorī Sultans. He was proclaimed king in the new palace of his unfortunate master, which had witnessed the gay assemblies of Kaiqobad and finally his tragic death after a brief reign of a little more than three years. The only other claimant to the throne, 'Alāuddin Muḥammad Kishlū Khān, the nephew of Balban, was put out of the way, being appointed governor of Karra.

CHAPTER III.

Khusrau's Career under the Khaljīs and Ghiyāthuddīn Tughlaq till his Death in 725 A.H.

In 689,[3] then the aged general Fīrūz Khaljī,[4] was crowned king. He

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That Shāstī Khān is the correct version is clear from several odes of Khusrau. Thus, see the odes in Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl (I.O. MS., 1186) leg. as

بوستان بشگفت و روی لاله خندان گشت باز
روی یار از سبزهٔ تر بوستانی یافت نو

Badaoni (i, 166) gives the name as : شایسته خان.

1 The leaders of this party were Malik Itmar Kachchan (or Kachan) Bārbek and Malik Ītmar Surkha. See Firishta, I, pp. 87-88, and Barni, pp. 171-172.

2 Khusrau briefly alludes to these events in his Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl (Dībācha) as follows : 'His beloved son Shamsuddīn (Kiāmūrth) was proclaimed king and Shāstī Khān .... took him under his care and tutelage. I became the 'Uṭārid (secretary) of that auspicious (fīruz) sky and his companion. By my good fortune the azure standard of Fīrūz Shāh was changed into the Black Umbrella and by the grace of the Almighty he honoured the throne with his glorious feet'.

3 Khusrau gives the date (Miftāḥ-ul-futūḥ) as the 3rd of Jumād-al-Thānī 689, according to Firishta it was the beginning of the year 688 (V. I, p. 89); Barni also has 688, but 689 is the correct date (Barni, 175); Khusrau says :

بگاه چاشت با فیروزی فال * ز هجرت ششصد و هشتاد و نه سال

The king was 70 years of age at the time of his accession to the throne.

4 The name has been derived from Khalij or Qalij Khān, son-in-law of Chengiz Khān by some historians and from Khalij or Khilij, a son of Turk bin Yāfath bin Nūh. See Firishta (1.88) and Badaoni (1.67).

was a brave and able man and, like Balban, had passed most of his life in fighting against the Mongols, who as Khusrau says came to India again and again only to be despatched back to 'Kirmān' in ignominy. Modest and diffident, he was almost pushed on to the throne by his sons, one of whom especially was as ambitious and strong in character as his father was retiring and shy.[1] The Turkish nobles looked askance at the new monarch and even the inhabitants of Delhi showed openly their contempt for the Khaljīs, and so the king remained at Kiloghari dreading a visit to the capital. But his virtuous nature and good temper soon won all hearts, and the refractory and insolent Turks, one by one, visited the king and paid their homage to their new sovereign.

Jalāluddīn finished and enlarged the New Palace built by Kaiqobād, and soon a city sprang up around the royal residence which acquired the name of the 'New City'. He also built a strong fortress in the New City,[2] and having consolidated his position and established his sway, he at last paid a visit to Delhi. There he went to the Red Palace of Balban, but as he reached the outer portico he got down from his horse. Aḥmed Chap, his proud and ambitious counsel, remonstrated. 'The palace is your Majesty's now', he said. But the king silenced him. 'It is my master's', he replied. 'Do you think I have forgotten what I am? For years I have bowed my head before Balban in this castle and even now as I entered my heart throbbed with awe and I thought I could see the mighty king sitting on his throne.' He did not sit on the throne of his master, but retired to another part of the palace and held his court there.

Khusrau, as a court poet, had passed automatically into Jalāluddīns' service even when the latter was only a regent.[3] He was henceforth a part of the royal paraphernalia that changed hands at the death of each successive monarch and like the black canopy, the crown and the throne, the palaces, the slaves and elephants became the property of the new master. But for the pious old monarch Khusrau had a genuine devotion and love, and the king

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1 Arkalik Khān, his second son. See infra.

2 Khusrau praises this fortress in one of his odes and says : (Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl) :

شها در شهر نو کردی حصاری * که رفت از کنگر او تا قمر سنگ

3 He says that himself in the Dībācha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl. (See supra.) Some of his odes (e.g. Nos. 1 and 2 in the I.O. MS., 1186 : Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl) in praise of Jalāluddīn relate to the latter's period of regency. The first ode on his accession to the throne (No. 3 in Ibid.) begins :

منت ایزد که نوشد کار و بار مملکت * دولت سلطان عالم شد مدار مملکت

(Cf. B.M. MS. Kulliyāt, No. 25,087: fol. 358 b, fol. 386*b* and fol. 387 for the three odes).

on his part treated the poet with great honour and benevolence. He was a poet himself and could compose elegant quatrains or ghazals[1] and was a great admirer of Khusrau's poetry on whom he bestowed the rank of 'mush-afdar' and the special robe of 'amārat', admitting him into the circle of his boon companions. He also allotted to the poet a pension of 1,200 tangahs annually.[2]

Jalāluddīn was over seventy when he became King and all his life had passed in wars and campaigns, yet he had a young heart and a cheerful disposition. His wine-parties were gorgeous. Beautiful slaves handed round the 'forbidden ruby' and famous singers recited the ghazals of Khusrau and Ḥasan. 'Each night', says Barni, 'Amīr Khusrau brought new ghazals to the assembly of the king'.[3] Mohd. Shāh, the famous musician of the time, played and beautiful dancing girls like Fatūḥa and Nuṣrat Khātūn sang 'bringing the birds down from the air and robbing the hearers of their senses', while the graceful dancing of Nuṣrat Bībi and Mihr Afrūz, their coquettish gestures and charming motions 'spilt a salt-mine on every side'.[4] 'While the sakis offered the frothing cups and the beautiful damsels danced and sang, the ghazals of Amīr Khusrau were recited, and in that assembly which could scarcely be considered as of this earth the lifeless ones got a fresh life and the sad hearts were gladdened.'[5] One can well appreciate the splendour and magnificence of these parties by the sad, longing lament of Barni who, as a young man, was often present in them. 'I, the old sinner', he says, 'wandering in the desert of disappointment and reduced to almost a breath of air or a whiff of smoke, wish, when writing the description of these assemblies, to wear the zone and put the Brahmins' "tika"[6] on my accursed forehead in memory of those hand-

1 See for instance, Badaoni, (i, 182) who gives the following verses composed by him :

آن زلف پریشانت ژولیده نمیخواهم * و آن روی چو گلنارت تفسیده نمیخواهم
بی پیرهنت خواهم یکشب بکنار آئی * هان بانگ بلند است این پوشیده نمیخواهم

Cf. also Barni, p. 197and Fririshta i, p. 89. Among the poets of his courts, beside Khusrau and Ḥasan, were Tājuddīn Irāqī, Muayyad Jājurmī, Muayyad Dīwāna, Amir Arsalān Kalāmi, Ikhtiyāruddīn Bāghī (Barni, 199 = Bāgh) and Tājuddīn Khaṭīb.

2 See Barni, p. 197.

3 Ibid, p. 200.

4 To spill salt, a salt-cellar or a sat-mine, means to scatter charm, to spread round wiles and attractions, 'namak' (salt) being metaphorically used for beauty and charm. (Barni, p. 199.)

5 Ibid., p. 200. For dancing Barni uses the terms پا کوفتن and اشکنه کردن Ishkinah is a musical note and therefore more correctly means to sing.

6 Tīka, the caste-mark or 'tilak' of the Brahmins would, of course, mean rank heresy for a devout Musalman.

some youths and beautiful maidens whose singing and dancing I had so often seen. Yes, I wish I could blacken my face and mourning for those kings of beauty's realm and those suns of the sky of grace, betake myself to streets and alleys a target to derision and disgrace, and sixty years after their disappearance go out lamenting, rending my clothes and tearing the hair of my head and beard, and lay my life beside their graves.'[1]

While, however, the king's kind heart and genial temper delighted all, his excessive lenience and forbearance made the mischievous truculent. 'He is all right', they said, 'for fighting the Mongols, but as to ruling an empire—well it is beyond him'. In the wine-parties of some of these bragging malcontents there were wild talks about the king and his ineffciency. The king heard everything, but ignored it, and even when some of the nobles conspired to kill him he called them to his presence, threw his sword before them and challenged any one of them to raise his hand and strike if he durst. The conspirators were shamed and humbled and blabbed out excuses. The king forgave them all to the great scandal and indignation of his ministers.[2]

The two great events of his reign were the revolt at Karra of Malik Chhajjū, 'Ālauddin Mohd. Kishlīkhan, and the conquest of Jhāin, a fortress near Rantambhūr, and Khusrau in his 'Miftāḥ-ul-Futūḥ' describes both of them. Malik Kishlī Khān, as we have seen, was the nephew of Balban and considered himself to be the rightful heir to the throne. He was, moreover, incited by other Turkish nobles to take advantage of the king's gentle and peaceful nature, and to raise the standard of revolt. In the second year of Fīrūz's reign the malik declared his independence and assuming the title of Mughīthuddīn[3] and collecting a large army mainly from amongst the Hindus[4] of his province advanced towards Delhi. The king, hearing of this, sent his brave and fiery son Arklik[5] Khān with a strong detachment to meet the enemy

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1 Barni, p. 200.

2 For this incident see Barni, pp. 190-191. The conspiracy was formed in a wine-party in the house of Tājuddīn Kūcnī, a great malik who was proposed to be the next king, and among the conspirators was another great malik, Nuṣrat Sabāḥ, Sardawātdār (or Chief Secretary).

3 It is curious that Tughril, who rebelled in Oudh in Balban's time, had also assumed the same title.

4 Khusrau says of his army : 'A few black infidels from Hindustan, who had sworn allegiance to him'.

ز هندوستان سیاهی چند بیدین * رضا دادند حکمش را به تمکین

Elliot (iii, 536) translates 'and a few' "sipahis" from Hindustan....' apparently misreading sipāh for siyāh (Miftāḥul-futūḥ I.O. MS., 1186).

5 Sic in Khusrau. But in Barni and Firishta the name is given as Arkali Khān. He was the second of the King's three sons.

and himself followed close with the main army. Khusrau was with the king and witnessed the various developments of the campaigns.

Arklik Khān advanced quickly and crossing the Jumna and the Ganges reached the Rahab[1] where the enemy was encamped. The two armies lay face to face for some days on opposite banks of the river and skirmishes went on. One night, however, the malik fled. The prince following soon overtook him and forced him to fight, cutting off his retreat. The demoralized and feeble soldiers of the malik were easily defeated and he escaped with a few followers, but was hunted down and brought with his confederates bound in pillories[2] their clothes torn and dusty and their faces begrimed, seated on camels. The monarch, when he saw this, covered his face with the lapel of his robe and cried out: 'Fie, what is this! Remove at once the pillories.' They were taken off the camels to the bath, were supplied fresh clothes, and the king sat with them, drinking wine and asking them to drink it with him. They cast down their eyes in shame.[3] Malik Chhajjū was sent to Multan with great honour and all the other nobles, except Alp Ghazi,[4] were pardoned.

The king then returned through Lakhnauti clearing the forest of Tarshīna[5] and destroying the robbers who had made it their stronghold. At Anbīthī he subjugated the Raja Nūpāl[6] and proceeded on to Kahsūn[7] and Bālāghatrak, whence he ultimately reached Sīrī. The king stayed there for the whole month of Ṣafar resting and enjoying himself, and preparing for the expedition to Jhāin. 'Although wine was taboo during the journey', says Khusrau, 'the king was not without the pleasures of music. Sometimes he listened to the verses of his companions, and sometimes sought new and fresh melodies from the musicians. On one side this humble slave sung the praises of the generous and on the other the skilful Mohd. Shāh[8] intoxicated the senses with his musical performances.'[9]

1 The modern Ramganga.

2 Dushākha, a piece of wood split into two parts between which were wedged the necks of culprits.

3 See Barni, p. 183. Barni narrates the events from Amīr Khusrau, who stood by the king at the time the prisoners were brought in.

4 He was delivered over to the relatives of someone whom he had murdered.

5 Elliot iii, has 'Taraya'.

6 Elliot : Rūpāl.

7 Elliot : Kashūn.

8 The famous musician of Jalāluddīn's time. In Barni the name is given as Muḥammad Sanah (سنه), evidently a misprint (Barni, p. 199). He was a 'changi' or player of 'chang' (the lute)..

9 Miftāḥ-ul-Futūḥ (I.O. MS., 1186).

After a magnificent durbar in which rich robes were conferred on all and sundry and red canopies with gold 'dūrbāshes' on Khān Khānān and Arkalik Khān, the elder sons of the king, and a gorgeous pearl-studded robe and a sapphire coloured standard on Ruknuddīn Ibrāhīm Qadar Khān, the youngest son, the king hoisted his flag from Sīrī. Marching through Lahrawat,[1] Chandāwal, Rewari, Narnol[2] and Banūhān,[3] the king at last reached Jhāin. Sāhinīn,[4] the rajah's brave general, met the royal forces, but after a hard struggle he fell dead and the fortress was captured, the rajah taking to flight. The king occupied the palace and gardens of the rajah, 'beautiful as paradise'[5] and cleared the temple of all its idols. The fort was destroyed and heaps of plunder fell to the lot of the conquerors including two brass images of Brahma. Appointing two of his generals, Malik Khurram and Sarjāndār Mahmūd to pursue the rajah and plunder the country around, the king proceeded to the river Chambal, and by slow marches passed through Bayāna and Sīrī and finally entered Delhi, where he was accorded a fine reception by his subjects.[6]

The king's gentle nature did not permit him to shed the blood of his subjects in further conquests and he gave up the idea of reducing the strong fortress of Rantambhur.[7] All his ministers argued with him in vain. Even Khusrau in his odes tried to urge the king to be more energetic. 'O you that have raised high your standard', he says, 'you shall conquer the whole world and in one stroke capture the seven realms...... Wield your sword, O King, for with the sword you will get what you like from the world as soon as you desire it...... Your slave, Khusrau, prays that you may conquer Hindustan as you have conquered Khorasan.'[8] But the king was unmoved. He loathed bloodshed and disliked cruelty. He could not be severe to anyone

1 The MS. has Lahrāfat. Elliot, (iii, 540) changes it into Sohrait.

2 The MS. has Nārnaur.

3 Sic in M S. Elliot, iii, 540 has Beohān.

4 The name as given in the M S. is Sāhinīn or Sāhinī, but Elliot, iii, 541 gives it as Saini.

5 Khusrau gives a long and fine description of the palace. The passage has been translated by Elliot (q. v. iii, p. 541). In an ode the Ghurra I.O. MS., 1186, the poet alludes to this campaign :

جلال الدين والدنيا كه عزمش جانب جهاين ز بهر قلع كفر و از پیٔ بنیاد دین آمد

6 Miftāḥul-futūḥ (I.O. MS. 1186). See also Khusrau's ode, No. 35, fol. 104*b*. Wasṭ-ul-Ḥayāt (I.O. MS., 1187) in which he describes the journey from Sīrī in the heat of summer. The ode, which he names روحة الروح، was written in 690.

7 See Barni, p. 213.

8 Ghurratul-Kamāl (I.O. MS., 1186) beg. : ای علم بالا زده ملک جهان خواهی گرفت

and released even the 'thugs' who were brought before him[1] and used to threaten his refractory nobles, not of his own anger,[2] but of the wrath of his second son, Arkalik Khān. 'You know how hot-tempered he is. Beware lest he hear of what you say about me!'

He had to suffer in his old age the loss of his eldest son, Khān-i-Khānān, whom he had appointed his heir and successor, and Khusrau has commemorated the event by a fine elegy.[3] The death of the prince was considered by some of the superstitious people to be a punishment for the murder of a darwesh, Sīdī Mūlah, who, as the central figure in a conspiracy against the king, was brutally done to death by other rival darweshes in the presence of the king. This was, perhaps, the only deed of stern judgment on the part of Jalāluddīn, and he was instigated to it by his son Arkalik Khān who supervised the murder from a balcony and asked an elephant-driver to finish Mūlah as he fell down wounded by trampling him under his elephant's feet.[4]

The invasion of the Mongols under Alghū Khān in 692 H. was another event of importance during his reign. The Mongols were defeated and Alghū Khān, with four thousand of his followers embraced Islam. He was married to a daughter of the king and the converts settled down in Ghiathpūr.

The old and pious monarch's reign, however, was now drawing to a close. He was too good, too gentle and too unsophisticated to be allowed to occupy the throne for long. In the year 691,[5] when he returned to the capital after

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1 See Barni, p. 189.

2 Ibid., p. 193.

3 I.O. MS., 1186: Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl (Tarji'band No. 5) : He says in it :

چه روز است این که من خورشید تابان را نمی بینم
دگر شب شد چرا ماه درخشان را نمی بینم
دو روزی هست کاندر ابر مانده آفتاب من
که اندر چشمها جز ابرو باران را نمی بینم
شه اینک بر سر تخت و بزرگان صف زده هر سو
همه هستند لیکن خان خانان را نمی بینم
چو دولت کور دیدم گفتمش خواهی بصر گفتا
چه خواهم کرد چون محمود سلطان را نمی بینم

4 For details of this incident see Firishta, i, pp. 92-93; Barni, pp. 208—212; Badaoni, i, p. 170 seq., etc.

5 Firishta (V. I, p. 94) gives the date as 692 H. and that of 'Alāuddīn's expedition against Deogir as 693 H. According to Barni, however, the date is 691 H.

an ineffectual expedition against the strong fortress of Mandāwar,[1] his nephew and son-in-law, 'Alāuddīn Khaljī, the governor of Karra, laid before him the plunders of a raid on the country round about Bhilsa[2] and sought his permission for further expeditions against Chanderi. The king, immensely pleased by his nephew's exploits, readily granted him leave to start. 'Alāuddīn, however, wanted to go away from Delhi,not only in the hope of rich plunders, but more, perhaps, in order to get rid of his proud wife and her prouder mother, Malika-i- Jahān, who had always been a source of mental torment to him, but against whom he could scarcely utter a word for fear of incurring the king's displeasure. He was, moreover, already hatching a plot to make a bid for the throne, and was in league with the discontented nobles who had taken an active part in the revolt in Oudh of Malik Chhajjū. Taking a number of such chiefs in his service and recruiting fresh soldiers, 'Alāuddīn returned to Karra and soon started from there, with the ostensible intention of raiding Chanderi,[3] with a few thousand trusty soldiers. His objective was, however, quite different. The lands of Berar and Deccan had so far been immune from the tread of the Turkish soldiers. Their peaceful cities were stored with riches and wealth that had accumulated for centuries. There was gold and silver untold in the coffers of the rajahs, and diamonds and pearls, horses and elephants in incredible numbers. The fame of these treasures had reached the ear of the ambitious malik. He wanted money to make his plan a success and here was a mine of riches awaiting exploitation.

He marched with his army so swiftly and so secretly that no one had an inkling of his plans and all at once appeared before the walls of Deogir, through Elichpur. The rajah was taken by surprise, and although his son fought valiantly against the invaders, 'Alāuddīn succeeded in completely cutting off Deogir from the surrounding country and rendering all succour or supply of provisions impossible, thus compelling the rajah to agree to the terms he dictated to him. These included the payment of a ransom to the invaders consisting of six hundred mans[4] of gold, seven mans of pearls, two mans of diamonds, emeralds and rubies, a thousand mans of silver, countless bundles of silk cloth and other precious products of the Deccan, together with the

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1 Mandū in Firishta (V. I, p. 94). Amir Khusrau also in his poems and Tārīkh-i-'Alāi styles it Mandū. See also Abulfaḍl (Ain. I, 382). But Barni has Mandāwar.

2 Thāsa in Firishta (Ibid.). Barni has Bhīlsa, which is correct. See Āin-i-Akbarī (I, 381), where it is mentioned in the sircar of Raisīn, province of Malwa.

3 Abulfaḍl (Āin-i-Akbarī), V. I. p. 381, mentions it in the province of Malwa. With Raisin, it formed a sircar.

4 Not the present Indian maund of forty seers or 80 lbs., but the old 'man' which was equal to 8 lbs.

revenue of Elichpur and its dependencies, elephants and horses.[1] Loaded with these rich spoils, 'Alāuddīn returned to Karra and the news of his successes reached his unsuspecting uncle, Jalāluddīn while the latter was at Gwaliyar.[2] 'Alāuddīn's conduct had roused the suspicions of some of the wise counsellors of the king. The faithful minister, Aḥmed Chap, especially saw the menace that lay in the possession of so much wealth by 'Alāuddīn and he advised the king to advance and intercept 'Alāuddīn's return to Karra and thus compel him to surrender the treasures to his master. The king, however, in his affection and enthusiasm for his nephew, dis-regarded the advice and returned to Delhi, thus allowing 'Alāudd n to proceed to his safe retreat in Karra and Oudh with resources that, in the words of Aḥmed Chap were sufficient for the foundation of seven kingdoms.[3]

From Karra, 'Alāuddīn commenced a campaign of crafty correspondence, telling the king of his successes, expressing his fears of the royal displeasure at his unauthorized conduct and asking the king's forgiveness. His brother, Almās Beg, another son-in-law of the king, was his spy and confederate at the royal court and told the king all sorts of sentimental things about his brother—how he was burning to see his beloved uncle, but durst not come to Delhi for fear, how he always carried poison in his handkerchief to end his life at the slightest manifestation of the king's wrath, and how faithful and true and repentant he was. The king, in his innocence and simplicity, sent Almās Beg to Karra, telling him to console his brother and assure him of immunity. The two brothers now together succeeded in drawing the king into a trap laid cleverly and with cruel precision and calculation. He was persuaded to visit Karra to receive the homage of his nephew and the treasures he haid brought from Deogir. The fatherly affection of the old monarch, his childsh simplicity and his cupidity for gold, led him blindfolded to his fate. Leaving behind his army and crossing the river with a few followers, fasting and reciting the Koran, he reached the other bank where his nephew had encamped with his army ready for all eventualities, the soldiers and elephants armed and standing at attention. As he got down from the boat, 'Alāuddīn advanced

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1 For these details see Firishta (I, 96) and Barni, 222 seq.

2 Khusrau was probably with the king here, for in an ode he says : 'When the king's cavalcade reached Gwaliyur the waves of his sea-like army reached Ceylon itself'.

چو موکبش بزمین گوالیر آمد   زموج لشکر او سیل تا به سیلان شد

(Ghurrat-ul-kamāl. I.O. M S., 1186). The king as would appear from the ode, built a fine terrace (چوتره) at Gwaliyar. Cf. Badaoni, I, 182.

"صفّهٔ بزرگ و گنبد عالی بنا کرد"

3 A curious reflection on the importance of riches in those days, which would explain 'Alāuddīn's policy towards his nobles.

and threw himself at his feet and the king lifted him up and embraced him with words of affection, dragging him towards the boat to take him back to the royal camp. But, under 'Alāuddīn's instructions, he was attacked by a ruffian,[1] who wounded him, and as the king ran towards the river another ruffian,[2] pursuing, threw him down and cut his head. The gory head with its white beard was hoisted on a lance and paraded in Karra. Aḥmed Chap, hearing of the disaster, hastened back to Delhi. He had done his best to prevent this, but the king never listened to him. Arkalik Khān, the valiant and able son of the murdered king, was in Multan. His mother, Malika-i-Jahān, without waiting for his arrival at Delhi, announced her youngest son, Ibrāhīm Ruknuddīn's accession to the throne, and Arkalik Khān, offended at this slight, remained away at Multan. The only formidable rival being thus put out of his way, 'Alāuddīn had no difficulty in scattering the forces of the young prince Ibrāhīm,[3] whose army deserted him and who, with his mother and the faithful minister, Aḥmed Chap, was forced to take shelter with his elder brother in Multan. 'Alāuddīn thus entered the city of Delhi unopposed. He had started from Karra, scattering gold and silver on his way, and winning all hearts with his generosity. As he advanced towards Delhi, his camp was preceded by a catapult that flung stars of gold on the large crowds that gathered from far and near to watch the triumphal march after the wonderful coup d'etat. 'Alāuddīn sought to wash away with gold the blackness of his vile treachery, and such is human nature that men soon forgot the gentle and virtuous king whose old head on the spear-head still

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1 He is said to be one Maḥmūd son of Salīm, a base-born man of Sāmāna. (See Firishta, I, 99, and Brni, 234).

2 Ikhtiyāruddīn, one of the ungrateful creatures of the king. (Firishta, I. 99.)

3 Khusrau has praised him in several fine odes and he seems to have been an amiable and generous prince. See odes in Ghurra, I.O. MS., beg.:

باز بوی گل بمغز بلبلان در میرسد   عید اگر چون رخ فرخندهٔ جانان باشد;

(called ruṭubul-qulūb);

صبا نو کرد باغ و بوستانرا   ابر بارید و همه روی زمین را تر کرد;

and

ماه من صورت میمون تو عید دگر است

He refers to his defeat and flight in the Ashīqa, p. 67 (S.O.S. MS.) thus:

ملوک و خان ز اندازه فزون بود   که هریک تخت رکنی را ستون بود
ز بانگ زر که دررقص آورد پای   ستونها جمله در رقص آمد از جای
ستونها چون سوی تخت دگر راند   ز ارکان تخت رکنی بیستون ماند

cried for vengeance, and welcomed the new monarch with great enthusiasm. Our poet, Khusrau, was one of the first to offer his congratulations to the murderer whose hands were still red with the blood of his king, his uncle and his benefactor, who had brought him up like his own child from his infancy, and had always been nothing but kind to him. The poet, like so many others, changed with the changing time and turned with the shifting wind. In a long ode that he had composed in honour of Fīrūz Khaljī, he had said: 'If the great master, Khāqānī boasted of the glories of Sherwan, I proclaim the splendours of India. His king, Jalāluddīn,[1] the king of Sherwan, and the majesty and gold crown of that king are alike dust now. But may our Jalāluddīn remain for ever at the head of our glorious kingdom and may his generous deeds pass into history through our praises of them.'[2] Yet no sooner did his nephew, shaded by the royal umbrella wrenched from the hands of the murdered king's attendants, approach the capital than Khusrau wrote and presented to him a panegyric congratulating him on his success and promising him the throne and khuṭba of Delhi:—'May you be blessed with the glory of the *khuṭba* of Delhi: This happy augury I draw from the nine lots of the skies',[3] is how the poet greets 'Alāuddīn.

'Alāuddīn ascended the throne of Delhi on Tuesday, the 22nd of Dhul-ḥijja, 695 H.[4] He gave the title of Ulugh Khān to his brother, Almās Beg,

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1 Jalāluddīn Akhtisān Shīrwānshāh, the patron of Khāqānī, was the son of Minūchihr Shīrwānshāh. Niẓāmī also dedicated his Leylā and Majnūn to this king.

2 Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl (I.O. MS., 1186) ode beg. :

عید است و خوبان نیمشب در کوی خمار آمده
مر مست گشته صبحدم غلطان ببازار آمده

The ode is in imitation of one of Khāqānī's beg. : as عید است و پیش از صبحدم مژد بخمار آمده (See Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī-Lucknow, 1908 : p. 402). Qāānī has an ode very similar to this but with a different radīf or rhyme : "عید است و ساقی در قدح صهبا ز مینا ریخته and one with identical metre and rhyme : عید است و جام زر افشان ازمی کرانبار آمده (Ibid., p. 274). (See Kulliyāt of Qāānī Selections : Calcutta, 1907, p. 276).

3 That Khusrau actually wrote this ode bfore 'Alāuddīn entered Delhi is clear from one of his mathnawis addressed to him in which he says : 'Was I not the first to congratulate you on your accession to the throne ? Behold my auspicious prophecy for fate has given you the throne of Delhi ' (I.O. MS., 1187; fol. 817*b* seq.)

نه من بودم از طبع دریا نشان   جلوس ترا اولین دُر فشان
مبارک زبانیٔ من بین که بخت   بدرگاه دهلی ترا داد تخت

4 Khusrau : Khazāin-ul-futūḥ (B.M. MS. No. Add. 16,838), fol. 5*b* and 6. Cf. also Badaoni, I, 182, and Barni, 242; 'Ashiqa (S.O.S. MS.), p. 65.

and that of Alp Khān to his brother-in-law, Sanjar. Two other great supporters of his cause were Malik Nurṣat and Malik Badruddīn[1] and they were honoured with the titles of Nuṣrat Khān and Ẓafar Khān respectively. 'Alāuddīn's daring expedition to Deogir, and his more daring and dramatic coup-de-main that had secured him the crown, had almost dazzled and bewildered the people. He had advanced to the throne, as Khusrau says, 'with sword in one hand and gold in the other, crowning heads with the latter and severing them with the former'[2] All at once, he ascended the throne in Delhi, while all the world wondered at the strange occurrence. 'How could anyone', they asked, 'seize Delhi coming from Karrah?' People talked and whispered, saying there never had been a fortunate man like him.[3] All opposition was hushed by his military prowess and all grumbling mouths were sealed with gold, and the only thorn in his side now was the presence in Multan of his cousins, Jalāluddīn's sons,[4] against whom he soon despatched, with strong forces, his brother, Ulugh Khān and Ẓafar Khān. 'All the lucky ones', says Khusrau, 'bowed down before the king—all except the ill-starred Mīr of Multan.[5] As that enemy was not of sufficient importance for the king to march himself against him, Ulugh Khān started to remove that obstacle from the way. An army arranged like the stars from which even the sky sought protection moved on like raining clouds flooding the world with the waves of the sword. When the enemy heard of this strong army, he concealed himself into the wall of misery like an ant[6] and Ulugh Khān advanced to accomplish his task. He came to the ramparts of the fortress and wanted to send the enemy to the abyss and lay him low in the dust with the strokes of his catapults.[7] But when he considered that both parties were Musalmans he curbed his hasty wrath. The besieged also did not consider it proper that a mote should contend with the sun, and after a resistance of two or three weeks they got sick of their misguided chief. The generals of the army, after a consultation, came out of the fortress asking pardon and amnesty. Then the enemy was afraid of his misfortune and sought strength from the

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1 Badaoni, I, 182. Barni, p. 242 gives the name as Hizabruddīn (هزبر الدين).

2 I.O. MS., 1187, fol. 817*b* seq. a long and fine mathnawī describing 'Alāuddīn's exploits.

کشید از کره تیغ فتح آخته　　بفتح افگنی رایت افراخته
بیکدست آهن بیکدست زر　　ازین تاج داد و ازان برد سر

3 Ibid.

4 Arkalik Khān and Ibrāhīm Ruknuddīn Qadar Khān.

5 By Mīr the poet means here amīr or governor, referring, of course, to Arkalik Khān.

6 i.e. fortified himself in Multan.

7 'Arūsak (عروسک), a small machine for flinging stones.

saints.[1] One of these saints brought the two errant princes with him and handed them over to the king's commanders, so that the auspicious Khān turned towards the threshold of the king with victory and success.'[2] Khusrau is silent about the fate of the unfortunate princes, but we know that they were blinded and ultimately put to death. Even the two young sons of Arkalik Khān were murdered, so that 'Alāuddīn could hence-forth rule without fear of any rival-claimant to the throne.[3] His power was now firmly established, and his court[4] was thronged by great and renowned nobles. For a time he gave himself up to pleasure and drank immoderately, but he soon got sick of wine and renounced it altogether. He now formed fantastic ideas about founding a new religion and going around on a tour of world-wide conquest like the great Alexander of yore, and in fact affected the title of Sikandar-i-—n ānī (the second Alexander), but happily he had wise counsellors who pointed out to him, with due humility and deference, the uselessness of such plans and advised him to strengthen his kingdom and to increase his power by further conquests in India itself.

But before 'Alāuddīn could commence his campaigns of conquest, he had to deal with the Mongols who seem to have missed no opportunity of invading India. They were especially attracted to this country during periods of political changes and upheavals, and Jalāluddīn's murder gave them another opportunity.

Early in 697 H. Kadar, a Mongol chieftain, invaded India with a large army, and advancing from the Jūdī mountains and crossing the Beas, the Jehlum and the Sutlej,[5] advanced towards Qasur and J ran-Manjūr.[6] Ulugh Khān was deputed by 'Alāuddīn to meet him and he defeated and scattered the Mongols on the 22nd of Rabī'-ul-Thānī 697H. Many were captured and slain.

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1 The original has Khilwat-Nashīnān (dwellers of solitude). The princes, finding their position untenable, beseeched some of the saints in Multan to interfere and intercede for them with Ulugh Khān. Sheikh Ruknuddīn, son of Sheikh Sadruddīn, delivered them up to Ulugh Khān after the latter had promised to spare their lives. See Badaoni, I, 183 ; Barni, 249.

2 The mathnawi quoted above.

3 See Barni, p. 249. Badaoni, I, 183 : Ahmed Chap, the faithful minister, also suffered the same lot as his masters, but his life was spared.

4 Barni, 248. The word used is درسرای. It is interesting to note that Ibn-Battūta (Defremery, iii, 217) says : و دار الملك بهند تسمّى دارسراى.

5 The MS. has Sutlad : (ستلد).

6 Sic in Khazāin-ul-futūh. Other historians give the name as Jālandar (Jullundur) the well-known town and district in the Punjab between the rivers Sutlej and Beas.

In 698H., Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān were despatched on an expedition against Gujarat, with an army 'like the raining cloud'. Ulugh Khān, as 'the angel in charge of clouds', proceeded towards the sea and conquered the country 'bedecked as a bride', after a great slaughter so that 'in celebrating the total destruction of the Hindus, even the beasts ate tanbūl[1] and dyed their feet with henna'. The idols in the Somnat temple were destroyed and cast into the sea, but the biggest of them was spared and sent to Delhi, 'and in that old land of unbelief the cry of the muezzin rose so loud that it could be heard in Baghdad and Madā'in[2] and the music of the 'Alāi Khuṭba[3] vibrated so mightily that it reached the dome of Khalīl[4] and the well of Zamzam. Khambāyat and Nahrwālah were captured and plundered and the strong fortress of Ranthambhur was then besieged. The Hindus put up here a stout resistance and the siege lasted for almost five months.[5] But the hot and dry weather and shortage of provisions began at last to tell upon the garrison. Food was so scarce that 'they bought a grain of rice for two grains of gold'. The brave rajah[6] in despair at last performed the 'jauhar', burning his women-folk in a huge pyre lit on a hill-top and himself came out of the fortress and fell dead fighting heroically. The fort thus fell into the hands of the besiegers on the 3rd of Dhulqa'da' 700 H. The generals turned back to the capital, now carrying with them huge spoils gathered from palaces and temples and the coffers

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See Barni, 250 : Firishta, I, 102. Badacni, I, p. 184, has Lahore. But Khusrau always gives it as Jāran-manjūr, and Manjūr-i-Jāran in one place ('Ashīqa: p. 71 referring to th's battle

نخست اندر حد منجور جارن   الغخان بر مغل زد همچو قارن

It is difficult to identify Jullundur with Jāran-Manjūr, for the former name is found even in very early writings and there appears to be no reason why Khusrau should change it into the latter. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd says :

پس شگرفی نباشد ار باشد   بندهات قهرمان چالندر

1 The betel leaf. The idea is that the mouths and feet of the wild beasts were red with the blood of the slain :

اندر آن شادی که هندو جمله قربان گشته بود
دام و دد خوردند تنبول و حنا بستند پای (دست)

2 The ancient city of Ctesiphon. Elliot, iii, converts it into Madinah.

3 i.e. the proclamation of 'Alāuddīn as the lord and master.

4 Qubbai-i-Khalīl.

5 According to Barni, 'Alāuddīn himself joined the besieging armies before the fall of the fortress, but Khusrau does not mention that here. In this 'Ashīqa, however (S.O.S. MS., pp. 77-78) he clearly says that 'Alāuddīn himself conquered the fortress and consigned it to his brother, Ulugh Khān.

6 Hammīr Deo ('Ashīqa, p. 77). He is said to have possessed ten thousand Arab horses, numerous elephants and a countless army.

of rich merchants in Cambay (Khambāyat), but, perhaps, the most valuable of these spoils were Kanwlādī, the beautiful queen of Rajah Karn of Nahrwallah and Malik Mānik,[1] a handsome slave who later became known as Malik Kāfūr Hazārdīnārī. Kanwlādī entered the harem of the sultan, where she exercised a good deal of influence, and Malik Kāfūr soon became the most favoured servant of the king and the object of his perverse and unnatural affection.

Khusrau had already entered the service of 'Alāuddīn and, when in the year 702 H. the king himself started for the conquest of Chitor, Khusrau accompanied him. The king left Delhi on the 8th of Jumād-al-Thānī and the siege lasted a long time, the fortress falling after a long and stubborn resistance on the 11th of Muharram, 703 H. The rains made the task of the besiegers considerably more difficult and the poet must have been exposed to many hardships in the royal camp. He says, 'I, who am the bird of this Sulaiman, was with him and although they often told me to go back to Delhi I remained there, fearing the displeasure of my master who may have said: "How is it I do not see the hoopoe? Is he then absent?"[2] and I was afraid I would not be able to explain my absence nor to have the strength to reply to the royal order: "He should bring me a clear proof (of his innocence)".'[3] He remained, then, with the king till the fort surrendered, and saw the slaughter of the unfortunate Hindus, thirty thousands of whom, according to him, were slain in one day. The life of the rajah was, however, spared. Chitor was named Khidr-ābād, after the name of the prince, Khidr Khān, who was given a red umbrella and appointed governor of the district, and the king turned back to the capital.[4] Soon after his return to Delhi, 'Alāuddīn had to face another Mongol invasion, the third during his reign. The second invasion under Qutlugh Khwāja had taken place in 698,[5] when the enemy almost reached

1 I am not quite certain about the identification of Malik Mānik with Malik Kāfūr. Badaoni considers them to be identical. The name is given as Nāyik or Tālak in Barni. Khusrau refers to Malik Mānik in his account of the fights with the Mongols. (See infra).

2 Referring to the story of Solomon and the hoopoe related in the Koran.

مَالِیَ لَا أَرَی الْهُدْهُدَ أَمْ كَانَ مِنَ الْغَائِبِينَ

3 The Koran : لیاتینّی بسلطان مبین

4 Khazāin-ul-futūh : fol. 20 seq. (B.M. MS.) cf. also Barni, 299-300.

5 Curiously enough Khusrau makes no mention of this invasion in his Khazāin-ul-futuh, though he alludes to it in his 'Ashīqa :

ازان پس بود قتلغخواجه گستاخ قوی تر شجرهٔ ملعونه را شاخ

بحدّ کیلی آمد کافر آن سال شه آن جرأت مبارک دید در فال

the walls of Delhi and the king had to march out himself. The Mongols were defeated, but Ẓafar Khān, the brave general, lost his life while pursuing them— much to the relief of the king, who was becoming jealous of his growing popularity and afraid of his heroic courage. This time the Mongols, led by Targhī, came in great strength and actually besieged the capital. There was great distress in the city owing to large numbers of refugees pouring in from all sides and shortage of foodstuffs, and the king had not sufficient forces at his command to raise the siege. After two months, however, the Mongols, as if by a miracle, raised the siege themselves and retreated.[1]

In 705 H. 'Alī Beg and Turtāq[2] with Targhī invaded India again. Targhī, however, soon retired, leaving the two Mongol princes to advance into the interior.[3] With an army of fifty thousand horse they advanced right up to the Siwaliks, burning and slaying and reaching Amroha. Malik Mānik was sent to fight against them and on the 10th of Jumād-al-Thānī the two armies met. The Mongols were again defeated and both the leaders were taken prisoner and brought to Delhi with large numbers of their followers. Most of the latter were put to death and their heads and bodies built into the towers and walls of Sīrī, but the princes were spared and allowed to live in Delhi, where one of them soon died.[4]

Soon after, Kabak again marched across the Indus, burning with thoughts of revenge for the reverses suffered by his kinsmen, and proceeded far into Hindustan till he came to Nagor. Malik Kāfūr led an army against him and,

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See Barni, 259 seq.; and Firishta, V. I, 103 seq. Qutlugh Khawāja was the son of Davā Khān, King of Māwaraunnahr, of whom Khusrau says, addressing Jalāluddīn :

زدی رایان هندو را ازین پس رای بالا کن دوا را گیر و زیر پای پیلان پایمالش کن

1 Popular belief ascribed this to the spiritual powers of the saint Niẓāmuddīn, while some thought it was due to a miracle of the king himself whom they believed to be possessed of supernatural powers. .(صاحب کشف و کرامات) See Barni, 300 seq.; and Firishta, I, iii, and seq.

2 Firishta gives the second name as Tarpāl, while it is found elsewhere as Taryāq, but Turtāq or Tartāq is probably the correct reading. (*Vide* Frishta, I, 114). See also Appendix (Tughlaq Nāmah).

3 Thus Khusrau says: 'Targhī who saw his bald head on the lances of the Muslim heroes and who had with his guile eluded twice the stroke of the holy warriors....was afraid, and bolted away from behind'.

4 Khusrau says : و آن هر دو مهرهٔ مضروب را که معلق مانده بود در خانه فرود آوردند و کشاد شان دادند تا از ششدرهٔ مردار شدن خلاص یافتند ناگاه از گردش کعبتین فلک یکی را ازان دو بی آنکه ضربهٔ بدو رسد دست روزگار مهره بر چید و دوم یکتا ماند *

(Khazāin-ul-futūḥ, fol. 19*b*). According to Firishta the two chiefs were trampled upon to death by elephants, which is evidently wrong in the face of Khusrau's definite statement. Cf. also Barni, p. 321.

routing the Mongols, captured Kabak, and 'the trained dog with a collar round his neck'[1] was brought to Delhi.

The fifth and last invasion of 'Alāuddīn's reign was made by the Mongols under Iqbal and Tay-bu,[2] who 'came thirsting for the blood of the Musalmans'. Malik Kāfūr with Malik G͟hāzī (Tug͟hlaq) routed again the enemy and pursued him across the Indus slaying large numbers. Hundreds of prisoners were brought to Delhi and were thrown under elephants' feet or hanged from turrets and battlements so that 'the Chinese and the Tartars hung from the walls as negroes head downwards fiom a new building'.[3] A lofty tower was built with their heads and limbs used as bricks.

These successive reverses damped the Mongols' ambition for the plunder and possession of the rich lands of India and for a time they gave up their usual incursions into the country. The inhabitants of India breathed a sigh of relief and gloated over the hideous murders of the captive Mongols or their kinsmen, the 'Neo-Muslims', who had settled in India and who were slaughtered wholesale after a conspiracy formed by some of them had been detected. K͟husrau, who shared the sentiments of the populace and who had, moreover, a special grudge against the Mongols, ever since his captivity in Multan, seems to have been very jubilant over their reverses and to have really enjoyed the sight of the tortures that they were subjected to. His works are strewn thickly with tirades against them and with hymns of gratitude for the punishments 'meted out to them by God'. He says in an ode addressed to 'Alāuddīn: 'O thou who hast carried the flag of victory and success over the four quarters of the globe, thine Hindu slaves have struck at the very heart of Turkestan![4]......Glory

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1 Cf. Elliot, iii, 549, who translates 'kalb-i-mu'allam' as 'that learned dog' which is absurd. For this invasion see K͟hazāin-ul-futūḥ (B.M. MS., fol. 20*b* seq.). The Ashīqa (S.O.S. MS., p. 74); Barni, pp. 321-322.

قلاده بسته آن کلب معلّم روان کردند پیش شاه عالم

2 The names are given distinctly like this in the MS. (K͟hazāin-ul-futūḥ). In 'Ashīqa the names are Iqbāl and Taibū. Cf. Elliot's translation of the passage : اقبال مدبر و مدابیر تایبو الخ where he apparently takes 'mudbir' and 'mādabir' to be parts of the two names, while K͟husrau, of course, means 'the ill-starred Iqbāl and the ill-fated followers of Tāy-bū'. See also Appendix (Tug͟hluq Nāmah).

3 Alluding to the practice of suspending dark, hideous figures on the walls of a new building to frighten away evil spirits :

شد از حصار تتاریء و چینی آویزان چو زنگیان نگونسار از عمارت نو

4 Alluding to Malik Mānik or Kāfūr's successes against the Mongols. He says elsewhere :—('Ashīqa).

به ترکستان چنان هندی نموده که از ترکان بهندی جان ربوده

be to God, for I have seen those dogs tied on camels against whom even the gentle camels cried in hateful protest! If there has ere now been current the proverb of "camel and cat",[1] henceforth "camel and dog" will become a common saying in the world. The "dushākhas"[2] round their necks, one would think, are like a lover embracing fondly the neck of the beloved with his two arms.'[3] While speaking of the persecution of the Mongols in India, he says: 'The headless ones who each year brought the chains of hardship given by Timur Qīq to take prisoners from India were themselves either cut down by the sword and sent to hell or taken prisoner and spared. But as those who were thus liberated tried to break their chains and to raise disturbances, the king ordered some of them to be thrown into the river and a rain of blood was made to pour on the earth from the necks of others and their wheat-coloured[4] bodies were buried in the ground so that red roses and cocks-combs sprung from their ashes. Then with the heads of the Mars dogs[5] they built up a tower......In the other distant parts of the country also similar towers were raised.'[6]

'Alāuddīn now took no more chances about further inroads of the Mongols. He had seen that the capital itself was not immune against their encroachments, and he started repairing the decaying ramparts, and, at the same time, built another strong fortress at Sīrī. Fortresses all over the route of the Mongols were also overhauled and rebuilt and manned with strong garrisons. Having thus secured the country against foreign invasions, he turned towards the internal administration. The mighty monarch had very early in his royal career cowed the nobles and filled their hearts with awe, yet he had to face two or three unpleasant risings against his authority. He was once very nearly killed by his nephew, Akitkhān, when out on a hunting expedition,[7] and at another time, while he was away on a campaign against the fortress of Rantambhur, a freed slave of the old Kotwal Amīr-ul-'Umarā Fakhruddīn almost captured the throne of Delhi,[8] and the Neo-Moslems were often rest-

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1 'Shutar-gurbeh' camel-cat as symbolic of two things of great disparity and incongruity. To talk 'shutar-gurbeh' would, for instance, be to talk nonsense.

2 A forked piece of wood that gripped the neck, a pillory.

3 Baqīya Naqiya (I.O. MS., 1187, ode No. 31, fol. 357*b*, beg. :

ای لوائ فتح و فیروزی بچار ارکان زده   بندگان هندوت بر قلب ترکستان زده

4 i.e. red-complexioned, or rather of a yellowish complexion.

5 Mars being the emblem of war and an inauspicious star.

6 I'jāz-i-Khusrawī: Vol. I, p. 15 seq. For the tower cf. Barni, p. 321. According to him the tower was built before the Badaon gate and was in esixtence in the time he wrote his history.

7 See Barni, p. 273 seq. Akitkhān was the son of Almāsbeg Ulugh Khan. Khusrau also alludes to this incident in the Nuh Sipihr.

8 See Barni, p. 280. His name was Ḥāji Maulā.

less and troublesome.[1] He sought to root out all sedition and so consulted his advisers. The two main causes of restiveness and turbulence, he was convinced, were wine and riches. He renounced wine and prohibited its use all over his kingdom. Taverns became deserted and kegs and tubs of the red juice were emptied into gutters so that the streets overflowed with it. Elephants were employed to consume huge quantities of the precious vintage that had lain stored in the royal cellars, so that the old historian, Firishta, says with a sigh: 'Happy the elephants of those days who thus enjoyed themselves!'[2] He took steps to check the accumulation of wealth among merchants and nobles, suppressed profiteering and bribery and formed a market called the Dār-ul-'Adl,[3] where all the traders and merchants had to sell their goods at prices fixed by the king. All cases of fraud or infringement of the rules laid down were strongly and summarily dealt with. 'Alāuddīn would test from time to time the prices in the market and act himself like a 'muḥtasib'.[4] He did not, it is true, go himself to the market disguised as an old woman in a flowing veil to detect malefactors, but he employed methods equally original and efficacious. He would, for instance, give a small coin to a boy of tender age and ask him to go and buy a certain commodity in the market and bring it intact to him. He would then weigh and measure it, and woe to the seller who thought of preying upon the innocent ignorance of the child![5] 'The justice of Omar', says Khusrau, 'had to wait for seven hundred years before it found a new patron'.[6]

Himself, probably, caring little about religion, and knowing less, he, as the head of the state, took strong measures against the spread of immorality and heresy that had grown freely during the reigns of Kaiqobād and Jalāluddīn. 'Women of the city who went about spreading the snares of their curly locks and roamed at will in the town were all compelled to retire to seclusion, and renouncing their evil ways they rubbed their hands in repentance while twisting the threads[7] of their veils.' A heretic sect, the

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1 See Barni, p. 335. Thirty thousands of them were killed and their houses plundered and burnt on the discovery of a plot against the king's life.

2 Firishta, I, p. 109 : خوشا حال فیلان آن عهد که چنان کامرانیها کرده اند

3 Khazāin-ul-futūḥ, fol. II : cf. also I'jāz-i-Khusrawī, R.I., p. 21, and Barni, 305 seq.

4 Officer whose duty it is to examine weights and measures, to regulate and control sale of drugs and wines, to check fraud, etc. For a very humorous sketch of a muḥtasib see 'Haji Baba of Ispahan' (Morier, London, 1925, p. 57).

5 Barni, p. 319.

6 I'jāz-i-Khusrawī, R.I., p. 37.

7 i.e. they now took to weaving veils for themselves. The original has 'rishta-i-dāmanī', dāmanī being a woman's veil or mantle. (Khazāin-ul-futūḥ, fol. 9).

Ibāḥatīya,[1] of whose evil ways the king had heard, was persecuted and suppressed, and all heresy disappeared so that even the 'fish that arose from the rivers was sunn '. Even wizards and witches did not escape the king's attention. 'The blood-thirsty sorcerers, the man-eating hyenas, who sharpened their teeth to consume the flesh and blood of children and relished the blood that they swallowed were punished and men pelted their skulls with stones and extorted from their heads indemnity for the blood they had drunk.'[2]

'Alāudd'n then turned his attention towards public buildings in Delhi. The ancient capital had seen many changes since the time of Āybek and Iltūtmish who had built the famous mosque 'which all nations acknowledged as their Ka'ba and to which even the Black Stone paid homage', and the lofty pillar, that 'support for the azure ceiling of the sky', and the Shamsī tank 'built in stone between two hills whose water was so clear that a blind man could count the small pebbles in its bottom at night'[3] with the round terrace built in the middle 'like a bubble on the surface of water'. Quṭbuddīn Āybek and Sultan Shamsuddīn resided in the old fort of Rāi Pathūrā (Indrāpat), but Ghiyāthuddīn Balban built a new fortress which he named Marzaghan and a palace called the Kushak-i-Lāl (Red Palace). Mu'izuddīn Kaiqobād built a new city by the river Jumna which became known as Kiloghari and later as the New City. 'Alāuddīn, having constructed a fortress in Sīrī, laid the foundations of another new city. The old city of Delhi and Sīrī, both circular in shape and surrounded by strong ramparts, were enclosed by two walls that joined them and had numerous gates outside and inside these walls. The space between the two cities became later known as Jahān-panāh and thus the whole formed a big continuous city.[4]

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1 Khazāin-ul-futūḥ (B.M. MS., fol. 10), Khusrau mentions this sect more than once in his writings. Ibāḥatīya or Ahl-i-Ibāḥat literally means those who make or consider lawful such things as are unlawful according to orthodox religion. Fīrūz Shah Tughlaq (Futūḥāt : Elliot, iii, 378) also mentions them, and according to Khusrau their evil practices included carnal relations among brothers and sisters, parents and children, and so forth. They were probably the Carmathians who were found in large numbers in Western India in those days.

2 Khazāin-ul-futūḥ (fol. 9*b*).

3 Qirān-us-Sa'dain, pp. 23 seq. The verse has become very popular praising the clearness and transparency of water.

در ته آبش زصفا ریگ خورد   کور تواند بدل شب شمرد

See, for instance, Iqbāl nāma-i-Jahāngīrī of Mu'tamad Khān (Calcutta, 1865, p. 165) where it is quoted.

4 For descriptions of these old cities of Delhi, see Maāthir-ul-Umarā (Calcutta, 1309 H., Vol. III, p. 474), Ẓafār Nāmeh, p. 50, Elliot, iii, 447; Malfūẓāt-i-Tīrmurī.

'Alāuddīn ordered the extension of the mosque, the great Jāmi' Masjid. A fourth 'maqṣūra'[1] was added to the three already existing. Then the king 'thought of constructing a replica to the pillar of the mosque which was unique in the world......He first ordered a vast space to be enclosed in the court of the mosque so that the throng of the faithful which, by the grace of God, finds the world too narrow for itself, may get ample place in it, and commanded that the circumference of the new pillar be twice that of the old one and its top be proportionately high, so that the top of the old one may look like the central gallery of the new one.' Stones were brought from far and near, from quarries and demolished Hindu temples and 'the stone-carvers of Hind who shamed even Farhād with their skill in stone-work, rendered the faces of the stones so smooth that imagination itself would slip on them. The masons of Delhi who considered even Nu'mān-i-Mundhir[2] to be a mere block-head in the art of building......joined stone with stone in such a manner that the fancy of a Rhazes[3] could not penetrate their joints.' But 'Alāuddīn never lived to finish the pillar which still lies incomplete, a monument to the vanity of human ambition.[4]

The Shamsī tank next received his attention. This tank, which supplied the city with water, had become choked and dry. 'Alāuddīn built a domed roof over it and had it cleared so that 'the hand of every digger becoming the staff of Moses', the tank was again full of water, and the white pavilion

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Thomas' Pathan Kings of Delhi (p. 313), Kiloghari was situated south-east of Humāyūn's tomb and N. by W. of Khiḍrābād. The Jumna has since then changed its course. See also Journal Arch. Soc. Delhi, 1853, p. 52 : Cunningham's report 1862-3, p. 38. Jalāluddīn Fīrūz Khalji had also built a palace in Kiloghari which he called The Green Palace. Khusrau praises it in an ode, B.M. MS. of Kulliyāt, fol. 389*b*.

زهی کشاده علم بر فراز سبز ایوان　　ز روی، سرخ تو سر سبز گشته بخت جوان

1 A chamber, a hall, a court. Khusrau's account would denote that the famous Quṭb minar formed a part of the mosque and was not an independent structure, as commonly believed.

2 Nu'mān bin Mundhir, the king of Hīra in Mosopotamia, who built the famous castle of Khwarnaq, mentioned as a masterpiece of architectural skill in Pre-Islamic Arab poetry. See Nicholson's Literary History of the Arabs, p. 40. For a description of the mosque, cf. Ibn-Baṭṭūta (Defremery, iii, p. 150 seq.) According to him it had four courts (صحون).

3 Ar-Rāzī, Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā, the famous alchemist and physician. See Clement Huart : Arabic Literature, pp. 307-308.

4 The mīnār, commenced in 1311, had a bottom circumference of 254 ft. It was carried up to the height of 75 ft. above the plinth and then abandoned. *Vide* Fergusson II, p. 206; Raverty, T. N., pp. 621-622.

in its middle with its reflection 'looked like an ostrich egg one half above and the other below water'.[1]

Having thus secured peace and prosperity in his vast dominions, the king again thought of the fertile lands of Deccan whence he had obtained such rich plunders in his first raid. Rām Deo still ruled at Deogir and as he had been rather lax in the regular payment of the tribute levied upon him, the king found a ready pretext for invading his territory. Malik Nāib Kāfūr, the great Bārbek, was consequently sent to Deogir with a large army to 'bring the rajah to his senses'. Kāfūr reached Deogir on 19 Ramaḍān, 706 H. and routed the forces of Rāmdeo's son who had to fly for his life. Deogir surrendered soon after; and the Bārbek, taking with him immense booty and Ramdeo himself returned to the capital. 'For six months the rajah, pardoned by the king, bent his body like the crescent-moon in the service of the king', and after that the king, bestowing on him a blue[2] chatr, sent him back with all honour to his country and throne.

While Malik Kāfūr was away on this expedition, the king himself, feeling no doubt restless after a long period of inaction, had marched out to Sīwāna, a fortress hundred farsangs from Delhi.[3] It was held by a 'gabr' Sutuldeo, 'who lay concealed in this mountain fortress like a griffin while several thousand other gabrs like hill-vultures perched themselves about him on the hillside, awaiting their destruction and opening their mouths like the stone-eating birds,[4] till the stones of the royal catapults flew at them'. The 'gabrs',[5] nevertheless, offered a stout resistance and it was only after about two months' hard fighting that the fortress fell and Sutuldeo was killed. The territory was allotted to Malik Kamāluddīn Gurg and the king returned to Delhi.

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1 Qirān-us-Sa'dain. Cf. Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa's description (Defremery, iii, 154). The tank according to him was 2 mīls by 1 mīl, and had pavilions on its four sides for sight-seers and excursionists. According to the Malfūẓāt of Khwāja Bakhtyār Kākī, the site of the tank was pointed out to Iltūtmish by the Prophet in a dream. (Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī : Bib. Ind., p. 61).

2 Elliot (iii. 78) has 'red umbrella', but the reading in the MS. is 'saqf rang' or 'of sky colour' (fol. 32*b*). I have followed Khusrau in the following accounts of the southern conquests. Barni and Firishta agree with him in all important details.

3 So according to Firishta, Amīr Khusrau says that the king started on this expedition in 708 H. in the month of Muḥarram (Khazāin, fol. 33). The fortress was apparently named Khairābād after its conquest, for the poet says :

حدیث فتح سوا نه که گشت خیر آباد   ز تیغ شه که همیشه بخیر باقی باد

4 Sangkhwār : a bittern, an ostrich or an eagle or sand-grouse (qaṭā) that swallows stones.

5 A gabr or geubre is really a fire-worshipper, but the word is generally used in the sense of an unbeliever or infidel (cf. 'Ashīqa, pp. 81-82).

In 709 H. Malik Kāfūr started on his campaigns in the extreme south. The king sent him off with great preparations, with a red umbrella, a red canopy and a numerous army. He reached Mas'ūdpur[1] on the 9th day. Crossing the rivers Jumna, Chambal, Kanwāri, Banās and Bhoji[2] in six days, the army reached Sultānpūr or Irajpur, and after a halt of four days there, resumed the march. Thirteen days after Khandār was reached on the first of Rajab. After another eight days of difficult marches through hilly country, crossing numerous streams, among them the Narbada that seemed to be a remnant of the Deluge, the army arrived at Nīlkanṭa, in the territory of Deogir. The Rajah greeted the royal standard and supplied all necessary provisions for the army. Kāfūr now advanced further south, and crossing a very difficult, rocky country came to a place between two rivers, the Basanhar and Bājī, near Baserāgar, where, they told him, there was a diamond mine. But 'as the strong warriors dig out diamonds with their swords and not with pickaxes', the Malik proceeded on till he arrived before the fortress of Sirbar[3] in the territory of Tilang.[4] The brother of the ruler, Anānīz by name, was captured the fortress reduced, and the rajah burnt himself to death.

On the 14th of Shā'bān, the country of Konarbāl[5] was reached, whence Kāfūr despatched a party of a thousand horsemen to reconnoitre the country and to find out the way to Arangal.[6] They reached the hill of Anum-Kunḍa,[7] and saw from it the fortress and city of Arangal, its suburbs and gardens. Malik Kāfūr joined the advance-guard soon, pitched the red canopy near Anum Kunḍa and besieged the strong fortress that had two formidable ramparts, the outer one of mud, and the inner one of brick, so high that 'its turrets rose up in air and soared up to the moon while its bottom passing below water reached the fish'. The royal army after a hard struggle broke through the

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1 Khusrau says of it : که از پور مسعود گشت است نامی .

2 Elliot (iii, 79) gives the last two names as Niyās (or Bambās : f.n.) and Bahūjī. Banās is a well-known river.

3 Or Sarbar (*vide* Elliot, iii, 80). It is probably Sirpur.

4 Or Talang ; but not Taling for Khusrau makes it rhyme with 'bang'. Yet the name is commonly written as Telingana.

5 Elliot (iii, 80) Kunarpal.

6 Warangal in Mysore.

7 Elliot (iii, 80) 'An-Makinda'. Anum-Kanda or Hanum-Kanda is the correct name and is clearly written like that in the MS. The hill is situated four miles from the ruins of the ancient fort of Warangal. See Gribble : History of the Deccan (1896), p. 8, and 'South India and her Mohammadan Invaders' by Aiyangar (1921), p. 88.

outer defences and compelled the rajah, Luddar Deo,[1] to sue for peace. He sent to the Malik an image of himself in gold with a rope round its neck in token of surrender and a humble request that his life be spared. 'If the king', he said, 'desires treasures and presents, I have of gold enough to gild all the mountains of Hind, and it is at his service. But if the world-decorating judgment of the king, in its generosity, allows this yellow-faced servant to keep a few of those gold coins, he will be able to preserve his dignity among his compeers. If the object of the king be diamonds and pearls, I have collected so many of them that neither the eyes of the rocks have beheld nor the ears of the fish heard of a similar treasure. Of horses, too, I possess twenty thousands, both baḥrī and kohī,[2] the former of which would fly like the wind on the sea without wetting their feet, and the latter would make the mountain ridges tremble like the Indian sword with their tread. The reins of all these horses will be tied to the royal stable. Elephants also have I, hundreds of them, which I would gladly send to the sublime thresh-old. They are the elephants of Ma'bar, not the grass-eating ones, and all young and new-born who are now just growing their tusks not like those whose tusks have become raised up with age or who have become toothless. These elephants have heard the elephant-prostrating noise of the royal forces, and with their ears wide open they draw lines on the ground with their trunks,[3] in humility and repentance, saying that hence-forward they would not turn their faces towards the Ka'ba of Islam except in slavish deference.... In short this, slave, Luddar Deo, places in one scale of the balance all the wealth, elephants and horses he possesses, and in the other his own life, and the king can choose either of them, may Iqbāl[4] of China with his chiefs be tied to the chains of his elephants!'

This message was delivered to Kāfūr by the rajah's 'basīths'[5] or messengers in eloquent Hindi 'more cutting than the sword', and next day the rich presents consisting of elephants, precious stones, like emeralds, rubies,

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1 That is how the Mohammadan historians write the name. The correct form, however, is Rudra Deva (Pratapa Rudra Deva). See Gribble, p. 7, and Aiyangar, p. 87.

2 Literally 'maritime' and 'mountainous', probably special breeds of horses.

3 از بینی خط بر زمین کشیدن a form of penance or a sign of abject humility or emphatic repentance was to draw lines on the ground with the nose.

4 The word can be read 'afyāl' (pl. of fil) = elephants, but I think Iqbāl is a better reading. Khusrau is alluding to Iqbāl Banda or Manda, the Mongol chief who invaded India. See supra (Khazāin-ul-futūḥ), fol. 50.

قید الله اِقبال الصین مع اَقْیالهٖ فی سلاسل اَفیاله

5 Hindi word meaning a 'rasul'. Thus in Khaliq Bari : بسیٹھ رسول پیمبر جان

'rummānīs',[1] cat's-eyes and cock's eyes[2] and diamonds, pearls and horses were brought to the royal camp. The malik, satisfied that the rajah could pay no more, accepted the presents, and returned to Delhi arriving there on Muḥarram 710 H., where he was received by the king in great state.

It was during the early stages of this expedition that Rajah Karn's[3] daughter, the beautiful Devaldī, was captured, chiefly by the help of Alp Khān, the governor of Gujarat. She was brought in Delhi to her fond mother, Kanwlādī, and soon a great romance sprung up between the Rajput princess and Khiḍr Khān, which Khusrau has described at length in his 'Ashīqa. Khiḍr Khān was married by his mother to her brother Alp Khān's daughter, but the young prince who was madly in love with Devaldī at last succeeded in persuading his mother to consent to his marriage with her.

In Jumād II, 710 H., another large army was sent for the conquest of Ma'bar. Malik Kāfūr, who had risen greatly in 'Alāuddīn's favour since his victory in the south, was again in command, and after a grand muster lasting for fourteen days, held on the ford of the Jumna, he started with swift marches, reaching Kaithūn[4] after twenty-one days. They arrived in Gurgāno[5] after another seventeen days, having crossed on their way lofty hills where huge horses looked like ants creeping on the hillside and elephants like particles of dust in the sun-lit crevices of a house, and waded through many streams. Here they halted for some days and received twenty-three elephants sent by the rajah of Tilang. After crossing the Tāwī (Tapti), they arrived at Deogir[6] which had been decorated in honour of the royal army. 'They saw a city more

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1 Literally 'pomegranate coloured', a kind of ruby.

2 عين الهرّة Oeil de chat, variete du quartz chatoyant.

3 The rajah after the conquest of his kingdom by 'Alāuddīn's generals, had found a shelter with Rāmdeo of Deogir. His name is indifferently given as Kiran or Karan, etc. but the Sanskrit form is Karna and Khusrau has the correct form in his works. He says in the 'Ashīqa (p. 95) :

در آن حد کرن رای بود با نام   بقدرت کامگا اندر همه کام

and again on p. 97 :

سریر آرای ملک هندوان کرن   که بد صاحبقران رایٔ در آن قرن

For the story of how Devaldī fell into the hands of the king's soldiers, *vide* Firishta, V. I. 116-17.

4 Elliot (iii, 86) Kanhun. It is probably Kanhur. See Aiyangar, p. 198.

5 Or Ghurgāno, Khārgano (کهر گانو) etc. Probably Kharagām, S. W. of Indore. (See Aiyangar, p. 101).

6 Cf. the ode in Nihāyat-ul-kamāl (B.M. MS., 25,087), Kulliyāt, fol. 459*b*, where he praises Deogir and describes its amenities at length :

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fresh and pleasant than the paradise of Shaddād. Every street was a garden where the money-changers sat with heaps of small and large "Achūs"[1] and gold and silver "tankahs". Clothes of every kind, unprocurable anywhere from Bihar in India to Khorasan, lay in bundles in shops, like tulips on the hills or hyacinths in the garden. Fruits of the best kind, fresh and luscious, were piled high and every kind of equipments required by the soldiers, cotton, woollen and leathern cloths, as well as brass and steel armour, were kept ready.' The rajah had moreover instructed his 'dalawi' or commander, to help in the advance of the royal army. The Dalawī[2] held a place very distant from Deogir, so that 'from Deogir, the city of security, to the town of devastation (Bāndarī), held by Pars Ram, the Dalawī',[3] the army had to make five halts and to cross three big rivers, Sini, Godavari and Pehnur.[4] At Bāndarī they heard that the two brothers, Bīr Pandaya and Sundar Pandaya, had fallen out, and while the former had gone away to chastise his younger brother, Ballal Deo of Dhursamundar[5] had attacked and captured two cities belonging to him, but hearing of the approach of the royal army had retired to his dominions.

Kāfūr reached before the fortress of Dhursamundar on Thursday, the fifth of Shawwāl. The rajah, Ballal Deo, wanted to make peace with the khān, but his ministers urged him to fight. 'If we have to die, let us not die disgraced', they said. But the rajah replied: 'Our great priests of yore have thus declared that the Hindus cannot stand before the Turks as fire cannot resist water'. He sent messengers and wanted to secure peace on terms similar to those accepted by Luddar Deo and Rāmdeo. But Kāfūr offered him the three alternatives of Islam, tribute (dhimma) or death, whereupon the rajah sent the following reply: 'All the wealth and goods that this slave Ballāl possesses, are at the service of the sky-sheltering threshold and so is the slave Ballāl..........To-morrow morning ere the lamp of the moon has set I

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1 Khusrau mentions Achū or Achhū as a coin of southern India with 'fanam' in several places.

2 From Karn. dal-an army, means a commander-in-chief and hence the prime-minister under the Hindu rulers of Mysore (cf. Aiyangar, p. 92).

3 Elliot has been misled by the epithet 'Kharābābād', used by Khusrau for Bāndarī as opposed to Aimanābād (not Imānābād) used for Deogir, and considers it to be a proper name. This has led Aiyangar to make wild conjectures about the identity and position of Kharābābād, an imaginary city. (See pages 102 and 198 of his book).

4 Elliot (iii, 88) Binhur. Aiyangar (p. 93 seq.) changes it into Bhima. But a river of the name Pennur is given in the atlas and that I think is the river Khusrau means. Aiyangar identifies Bandari with Pandharpur. (See p. 192 of his book).

5 Bellāla devā of Devarasamudra (Vīra Ballāla III).

shall present all I have to the Islamic faith keeping not a single thread with myself except the zone which is the indispensable emblem of my broken Hindu religion.'

The malik at last accepted the presents offered by the rajah. They were brought to the royal camp by several 'basīths'[1] and consisted of huge, 'demon-like' elephants and horses of various kinds,[2] and next day the rajah himself coming out of the fortress paid homage to the royal canopy.

Kāfūr stayed at Dhursamundar for twelve days, sent the elephants to Delhi and then proceeded towards Ma'bar.

Between Dhursamundar and Ma'bar they crossed a mountain 'whose top touched the clouds and was bare of all vegetation', and where they found two passes in two 'ghātīs',[3] Talmalī and Tabar.[4] They then came to a river and encamped in a desert, and commenced 'wiping away the dirt of unbelief from that begrimed country with the water of their swords', and despoiled a place called Mardī.[5]

In the month of Dhulqa'da, Kāfūr started from the river Kanūrī in the direction of Bīr Dhūl. The Rāi was filled with consternation and thought of fleeing to the sea and taking shelter in an island, but finding that unpracticable, he prepared himself for resistance. 'All the Hindus donned the armour and ate the tanbūl, but they ate it only to make ready for a flight, for as they chewed the leaves they saw their mouths bleed in grief for them.. The Bīr also, in accord with them, chewed the leaf and swallowed blood.' On the approach of the royal army he fled to the city of Kim[6] and, taking

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1 Khusrau gives their names as Bālakdeo Nāyik. Nāyan (Narayan) deo and Jītmal (fol. 67*b*). Cf. also Elliot, iii, 89.

2 These were 'Bahris, who, while swimming, considered the sea a pool of water; zāghchashms (crow-eyed); siyāhs (blacks); Nuqras (silver-greys); Abrashes (dappled greys) and "gulgūnān" which looked as if wind had been made rose-coloured....Some of them were huge like elephants, but so swift and active that one thought they could enter into an ant-hole'.

3 The manuscript has : کرہتی

4 Sic in the MS. Elliot (iii, 90) has Sarmalī and Tabar. (See also Aiyangar, p. 103). Tabar is the pass now known as Toppur Pass. It is difficult to identify Talmalī or Saramalī. It may be, as Aiyangar suspects, a corrupt form of Puramali.

5 Aiyangar (pp. 96-97) identifies Mardī with Madura. Khusrau says of it : 'The impotent Hindus had named their town Mardī, while there was no man (Mardī) in it at all, and they dreamed idle dreams fancying themselves to be very courageous and brave'.... Waṣṣāf also has the same name.

Elliot omits this portion in his translation of the Khazāin-ul-futūḥ. I think Amīr Khusrau does not mean by Mardi the city of Madura, for later on we find Mathra (fol. 79*b*) for Madura.

6 The reading in the MS. (fol. 73*b* is کم. Further on it is کیم (fol. 79). Elliot has Kham. Aiyangar identifies it with Kadambavanam (p. 107).

some provisions and treasures, proceeded to Kandūr.[1] 'There also his feet could find no hold, and so he betook himself to the forests where the elephants and tigers live.' A number of Muhammadans in the rajah's service came and joined Kāfūr's army. Bīr Dhūl[2] was occupied and though the rains now set in heavily, Kāfūr started in pursuit of the Rāi. On the way to Kandur he met and scattered a detachment of his army, and in Kandur 120 elephants with huge treasures fell into his hands. Then he proceeded towards Jalkota, but finding no trace of the Rai, 'who had fled to a forest where even an ant could not creep on account of the thick vegetation', he returned to Kandur and busied himself in collecting elephants and gold, and obtained 250 elephants.

He then plundered the Golden Temple[3] 'as old as the blasphemy of 'Azāzīl.[4] It was like a pillar of gold extending from the earth to the sky, scratching the eyes of stars, and entering the orb of the sun......Its walls were so thickly studded with rubies and emeralds of sun-like brilliance that the onlooker saw red and yellow and the eyes were jaundiced at the sight of gold. The green emeralds, one would fancy, were like a parrot flown out of the moon's egg, and the bejewelled body of the idol looked as if there were swellings on the sun......' All this wealth was plundered, the 'lingas' were destroyed and the priests slain, and Kāfūr then proceeded to the city of Kim. In five days more he reached Mathra (Madura), which was the capital of Sundar Pandaya, the brother of the Rāi (Vīra Pandaya). They

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1 Identified by Aiyangar with Kannanur (Khandanpuram.) *Vide* pp. 110-111.

2 It is difficult to identify this place, but it is obviously the same as Abu'l Fidā's Biyar-Dāwal. See Nainar : *The Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India* (1942), p. 54, Fn. 92. Nainar does not agree with Aiyangar in thinking Bīr Dhūl to be a corruption of Vira Colan, a possible alternative name for the Pandya Capital, but would, on the other hand, derive Dhūl from a Tamil word, *tāwalam,* meaning "towns", "villages", etc., and hence Bīr Dhūl may mean "the country or city of Bīr (Vira Pandya)".

3 Aiyangar (pp. 108-109) identifies the temple with Chidambaram, one of whose popular names was Ponnambalam or Golden Hall. Khusrau gives the name as Marhatpurī (Elliot-Brahmastpuri) which, as Aiyangar surmises, may be a distorted form of Brahmapuri, the sacerdotal name given to Chidambaram in the Saiva literature. In the 'Ashīqa Khusrau says of Bīr (Vīra) Pandaya :

بسی شهرش بخشکی و تری هم　　فتن خوش کردهٔ و مرهت پری هم
فتن را ساخته منزلگه خویش　　بت و بتخانه در مرهت پری بیش

and then describes the idol.

(Note that in these verses Brahmastpuri would be an impossible reading).

4 The denial of Iblīs or 'Azāzīl, who refused to acknowledge the superiority of Adam.

found the city empty. The rajah had fled with his rānīs, leaving only two or three elephants in the temple of Jagnār.[1] Kāfūr, infuriated, set fire to the temple.

With the immense booty, the malik now started back. The line of the captured elephants stretched three farsangs long, there were numerous horses and five hundred mans of gems and gold. The return march was commenced on the 4th of Dhulhijja and Delhi was reached on the 4th of Jumād II, 711 H. The King received Kāfūr in a magnificent durbar specially held for the occasion. The rich spoils were presented before the staring eyes of the courtiers and the victorious generals were generously rewarded. Never before had such treasures been brought to Delhi, and 'Alāuddīn for once again was as generous as he had been when he marched from Karra to the capital. The nobles and maliks each received four, two, one or a half 'man' of gold, and there was general rejoicing all over the country.

According to Badaoni, Amīr Khusrau was also with the malik in this last great expedition of 'Alāuddīn's reign. Khusrau himself does not say that, and it seems unlikely that the poet should have accompanied the army on its long and arduous journey, when the king with his court was in Delhi. He was now already a comparatively old man, and since he became a disciple of Nizāmuddīn Auliya he tried as far as possible to shun the company of nobles and soldiers and to devote himself to piety and prayer. His detailed account of the campaign would, no doubt, suggest that the poet possessed first-hand information about it,—that he was an actual witness of the spectacular drama that unfolded itself in the far-off lands of the south. But we must remember that Khusrau wrote his Khazāin-ul-futūh as a court historian and must have based his narrative on authentic official records so that he could mention all the details of the battles without being through the fray himself.

'Alāuddīn's long rèign of twenty years that was now drawing to a close had been the most productive period of Khusrau's life. He completed his third dīwān[2] and wrote the well-known Khamsa during this period and attained that perfection and maturity in poetry, which age alone can impart it. His fame, as he says, had spread from city to city and like the sun had seized the East and the West.[3] But whether the poet was very happy and prosperous as well is doubtful. He speaks of 'Alāuddīn's reign as one of general prosperity, peace and security. 'Wonderful peace and security',

1 Probably a modification of Jaganāth, as Khusrau puns upon the word 'nār' (fire). See Aiyangar.

2 Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl. See infra.

3 Dībācha of Baqīya-i-Naqīya. (I.O. MS., 1187, fol. 32

he writes,[1] for from the ramparts of Delhi to the compounds of Khorasan a carpet of red satin has been spread with the blood of the ruddy-visaged Chinese so that all turbulence is dormant and all disorder and tumult extinct and the mischief-mongers are fallen......On one side the mountain-like armies of the Chengiz-Khānīs have been blown off beyond the Oxus by the furious blast of his might, and on the other side the powerful raīs of India, who with their numerous elephants used to trample the ranks of the Turks, have not only been compelled to give elephants and treasures, but some of them who were still truculent have been so crushed that their heads were thrown like oil-cans under elephants' feet and with the oil of those cans[2] the roughness of the elephants' feet was smoothed out. In matters of justice and the welfare of his subjects, he has devised such laws as could not be imaged in the mirror of Alexander or beheld in the Cup of Jamshīd. With his balanced judgment he has laid down such a principle for cheapening grain, which is the leaven of life's substance, so that if for years the wandering clouds do not pour down the sweat of their brow, the wind does not move its fan, the ruddy soil does not grow any green herbage and the hot sun does not ripen the crops, he can keep the multitude supplied with food from his royal granaries. Other requirements of the people, too, even if they be "red sulphur"[3] or white rubies,[4] he has rendered cheaper and more easily accessible than yellow amber or red grain. Moreover, money, which is the elixir of desires and the most cherished of objects, has become so cheap on account of his heavy gifts and abundant charities that no one feels the strain of the high price of a stuff, so that prosperity and comfort prevail all over his dominions.. Robbers flee away from the shadow of wealth as shadow flees from the sun and justice is busy in uprooting tyranny as a lamp roots out darkness. The mighty elephant has not the courage to tread haughtily in the path of a feeble ant and the hungry tiger has not the cheek to laugh at the unsteady gait of a lame deer.'[5]

Barni is rather inconsistent about this point and makes apparently contradictory statements concerning the general economic conditions of the

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1 I'jāz-i-Khusrawī, pp. 18—20. This voluminous prose work also Khusrau compiled during 'Alāuddīn's reign. See infra.

2 i.e. blood. Grease or oil was apparently applied to elephants' feet. A commentator says that oil-cans were placed under their feet for some time till, by gradual absorption of oil, the harshness and roughness was removed.

3 Gūgard-i-Aḥmar or Gūgard-i-Ḥamrā, the philosopher's stone or elixir (cf. Kibrīt-ul-Aḥmar).

4 Lāl-i-Sapid, something as imaginary and fabulous as the philosopher's stone, for a ruby cannot be white, although there is one with a very light pink colour, called lāl-i-piyāzī (onion ruby).

5 I'jāz-i-Khusrawī (Intro., pp. 1—22).

time. While recounting, for instance, the 'wonders' of 'Alāuddīn's reign, he says: 'The first wonderful thing was the cheapness of grains, clothes and other requisites of livelihood, whose prices never varied in spite of droughts and famines, and as long as 'Alāuddīn was alive this cheapness remained undisturbed'.[1] But while speaking of the reign of Quṭbuddīn Mubārak Shāh he asserts: 'After a long time tankahs and jītal, poured into purses and bags......People got rid of the ill-temper, severity and multifarious exactions of Sultan 'Alāuddīn. Gold and silver appeared in and outside the houses, streets and quarters of the city.'[2] 'Alāuddīn certainly seems to have exercised a good deal of discretion in how he spent his money. Even Khusrau says: 'The characteristics of his sublime nature were all in accord with the laws of moderation. His anger was like the fire that cooks, not that which burns; his mercy like the wind that blows freely but raises no dust; his temper like the water that pleases but drowns not, and his generosity like the mine that treasures wealth but does not destroy it.'[3] Having once consolidated his position by an almost fantastically generous distribution of gold, he took care not to squander his treasury in lavish gifts. His officers got no fabulous remunerations[4] and the traders could not hoard money by profiteering. His control over the financial resources of the country was as strict as it was complete, and although a few suffered the majority of his subjects seem to have been better off than they had been in the time of his predecessors.

He was almost illiterate and consequently had little regard for learning and scholarship, and did not patronize the literary men of his time as generously as Kaiqobād or Fīrūz Khaljī had done. Yet his reign could boast of a greater number of poets, scholars and saints than that found in the reign of any other king of Delhi. 'The most wonderful thing', says Barni,'which people beheld in his reign was the throng of great men of all nationalities, masters of every science and experts in every art. The capital of Delhi, by the presence of these peerless men of extraordinary talents, had become the envy of Baghdad, the rival of Cairo and the equal of Constantinople.'[5] 'A city lik Delhi!' says Khusrau, 'hills around it and a river in its midst! Every stone in it which you turn will disclose a pearl of poesy and from every

1 Barni, p. 339.

2 Barni, pp. 382-383.

3 I'jāz-i-Khusrawī (Dībācha, p. 39).

4 'The fourth wonder seen in his reign', says Barni, ' was the appointment of a large number of officials on small salaries', p. 340.

استقامت حشم بسیار با مواجب اندک

5 Barni, p. 341

yard of earth that you dig a fountain of ideas will spring forth.'[1] Khusrau and Hasan, of course, were the chief poets of the time and 'Alāuddīn seems to have confirmed Khusrau in the office of 'mushafdār'[2] conferred upon him by Fīrūz Khaljī.

According to Barni, 'Alāuddīn did not add anything to the annuity of one thousand tankahs that Khusrau used to receive before his reign.[3] But it is apparent from Khusrau's poems that the king's favours to the poet were frequent and abundant, and that he had given him a village in reward for a poem.

Khusrau had, however, to make a hard struggle before he could persuade the stern and astute monarch to loosen his purse strings. In a poem which he wrote in the fourth year of 'Alāuddīn's reign he says addressing him: 'The year when the Shadow of God ascended the throne, the first honour that my fortune bestowed on me was my admission to the royal court, where I used to stand before the king in the proper place of my service. One day

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1 Dībācha of Wastul-Hayāt (I.O. MS., 1187, fol. 55*b* sep.).

2 In a fragment (qita) in Ghurratul-Kamāl Khusrau requests the king to give him this office : 'O King of Kings ! to whom the sky turned and said : "I am a slave, grateful to the universal bounty of the King", what I desire from him is the office of "mushafdārī so that the amulet of may prayers may become the armour for his royal body.....,

ای شهنشاهی که گردون رو بسویش کرد و گفت
بندهٔ مستظهرم من از عطای عام شاه
خواهشم از ختم شاهان شغل مصحفداریست
تا بود حرز دعایم جوشن اندام شاه
هست مقصود آنکه باری دولتی حاصل کنم
خاصه چون دریافت بختم نوبت و ایام شاه
آنکه شغل شه دهد از سیم و زر تا عمر هست
خوش بود چون عمر شد چه سودم از انعام شاه
و آنچه خسرو میدهد از شعر عمر جاودان
زان بخواهد ماند باقی تا قیامت نام شاه

3 Barni, p. 366

In a poem Khusrau asks the king to give him the allowance fixed for him by Fīrūz Khaljī : (B.M. MS., 25, 087, fol. 97 seq.).

بود ز احسان جلالی بدوام تنکه زا مرده هزار انعام
(تنکه زر مرا هزار انعام ؟)
هست از شاه امید جانم که مقرر شود آن فرمانم

as with a charming ode I sprinkled the royal carpet with sugar, the King of the World was pleased to command me to sit in the court. The Khān-i-Khanān[1] was very kind to me on hearing that letter of victory and gave me a special robe of honour and five hundred silver tankahs, and the memory of that gift is still fresh in my mind. May God light the soul of the great Khān with the torch of His forgiveness, and may the King live beyond all reckoning of time to occupy the throne of happiness! I, an humble admirer of the King, may also get what I want. O King! I know that there never was a wiser, kings for you are a thorough connoisseur of skill, a good critic of verses and a friend of poetry. But alas! I have fallen on such unlucky times that I can hardly get a decent living. If I do not prosper in your time, how can I ever do so after you? How sad that there be a king like you and a poet like me be stricken with want! The allowance which I get from your Majesty is my right[2] and the reward of my service for I remain always beside the royal stirrup......But as I want to praise you, how can I write verses without some reward? You cannot possibly be unaware of the generosity shown to poets by other kings, who gave away often a treasure for an ode. Khāqānī, in reward for one ode, got a thousand dīnārs for each verse and the poet Mu'izzī[3] sat on a gold chair in Merv. When Firdausi wrote his Shāh-nāmah, the king gave him an elephant-load of gold, and yet his miserliness has become a tale. 'Unṣurī also got endless favours from Sultan Maḥmūd so that all his furniture was of gold. That patronage which the kings showed to the poets has left behind everlasting panegyrics and an eternal fame of their generosity. We know when they lived and what patronage they received from the kings: but to-morrow when we are dead and gone, what would people tell about us? O King of the World, for this reason, charity to poets is imperative! If the wizards of those days were peerless in their age, I also, in my age, am not less than they were—if not more—and although my name is not 'Unṣurī my poetry is in no way inferior to his. He quaffed the cup of gold by his skill in poetry: I also hope to do the same by the grace of your Majesty. If your royal patronage aids me I can transcend him in poetry, for grass grows only with rain and poetry with the generosity of kings.[4] You who cure the disease of expectation, reward me in proportion to the

1 I.e. Ulugh Khān, Almās Beg, 'Alāuddīn's brother who died soon after the conquest of Chitor.

2 The annuity of a thousand tankahs was granted to him by Jalāluddīn as the pay of his office which he apparently retained during 'Alāuddīn's reign.

3 Poet-laureate of Sultan Jalāluddīn Malik Shāh, the Saljūq prince, (542 H.). See Daulat Shāh 57—60 Chahār Mapāla, p. 155 (حواشی ص ۲۸). Amīr Mu'izzī also held a high office under the king.

4 سبزه نشود مگر ز باران شعر از کرم کرم گذاران

excellence of my poetry! To-day there is many a slave around you busy day and night in your service and one of the humblest am I. When a hundred years have passed from now, the world will be another world, and the people who will read the praises of the king will know the worth of my service. You shall remain while I shall be no more : I shall be gone but my service shall endure......One day your Majesty was pleased to be kind to your slave, and you said to me: "O admirer of our kingdom, be happy that you have been exalted by our rule and have been favoured by us. We shall give you so many treasures that you shall be free from all concern and care." With that fair promise, this humble slave has been content till now. Four years have elapsed since then—may your glory last for a hundred years—and so I remind you of that promise, for perchance you have forgotten it, although I know that a promise from one like you cannot but be fulfilled. Through your grace hundreds of your slaves have soared to the skies—let me be one of those slaves.'[1]

'Alāuddīn, it would seem, insisted on the poet attending the court regularly and discharging the duties that his office entailed upon him. This was, however, not very agreeable to Khusrau, who had under the previous patrons been allowed to live a life of comparative freedom and ease, presenting himself only at the pleasant wine-parties where poets and musicians gathered and sang. In another long poem addressed to the king he says:

'If day and night I attend not the court of your Majesty to perform my humble services, it matters little, for when a hundred crowned heads bow before you daily you can easily forgive the absence of a beggar. I say that not because I know not how to serve, for I can be at your service day and night, morning and evening: I can display the magic of my poetry in the assembly and can play with the sword at the time of battle, and even if arrows and spears rain from the moon[2] I would not turn away from your august saddle-strap. But I have to string pearls and to say subtle things with a fresh imagination. Now I turn to the flowing spring and now I betake myself to a green meadow, and before I can find a pearl worthy of your ear all my blood has to boil like a river. Even if that pearl is not worthy of you, it suits the ear of your slave, and I keep away from the circle of your service lest my pearl be lost in the crowd. If I stand before you day and night how can my mind produce poetry? Without thought surely my poetry will be

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1 This mathnawī begins on fol. 815*b* (I.O. MS., 1187) and is entitled an 'arḍ-i-ḥāl' or application addressed to the great Khāqān. Beg. :

بر رای خدایگان عالم　　　خاقان سپه کش معظّم

2 I.e. from the sky.

but frivolous and shallow.' After stressing the importance of poetry and of the service rendered to kings by poets, he mentions how the former kings rewarded poets, how Rūdagī got a 'man' of gold for every fine verse and how Khāqānī had screens of 'aksūn',[1] carpets of satin,[2] pearl-studded musical instruments and wine-flagons,[3] and Greek and Chinese slaves that served him in gold plates and ruby dishes.[4] He then says: 'I have not cast my lot in poetry[5] to secure favours from the king, for I am not of those greedy persons who lose their honour in their covetousness. Whether my reward be large or small, I am happy, and shall be content even if it is neither small nor large. If by your grace you lift me up, my poetry shall rise to the skies, but if you never think of me—well what does a king care if a beggar dies. I am content with my poverty and humble solitude: my trust is in God who will give me my bread......But it is a pity that the whole world is so happy and a poet like me should starve thus.[6] I am like a bird who has just learnt to sing and its tongue has been tied and its throat sewn up. The wealth of poetry that I scatter about is certainly incommensurate with my wages, and yet how many bright pearls still lie concealed in my mind. Had I been born in Rayy or in Rūm[7] even my thorny bushes would have appeared like smooth wax trees, and every one hearing my poetry would have been eager to see me saying to himself: My God! how does that wizard look who has taken such trouble in producing this magical poetry! But now even my flowers produce only vinegar,[8] dark and unpleasant of smell. A pearl is precious for every finger cannot reach it, while water that is the essence of life is cheap on account of its abundance. O mighty King! do not blame me thus,[9] for in my art I have no peer and even if my service to you is not worthy

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1 A silk stuff of black colour.

2 Aṭlas

3 The original has Sāzhā-i-Nishāṭ, 'the implements of pleasure'.

4 Evidently an exaggeration. ز زرطشت و از لعل رخشنده طاس A 'ṭās' of shining rubies is not so easy to possess.

5 نه من زان فگندم بآن کوچه رخش　　که یابم ز بخشایش شاه بخش
Literally 'I have not led my horse to that alley, etc.'

6 Literally 'such a livelihood for a poet like me !'

چو من جادوی را کشادی چنین ؛　　دریغا جهان را مرادی چنین

7 A very favourite combination with Khusrau. Curiously enough Elliot almost invariably misreads the names as Rāi and Rām. See, for instance, iii, 556, etc.

8 Khalla Khīz. Khalla is apparently used here for Khall = date-juice or sour dates.

ولی هست ریحان من خله خیز　　که رنگش سیاه خوانی و بوی تیز

9 This shows that the king reprimanded him for his absence from court.

of securing your patronage, during the few months that I have passed in your presence I have laid befor you such treasures that Khiḍr will continue giving you the water of immortality as long as the black colour of the letters remains. When a poet wets the point of his pen he performs the service of two hundred years in one moment. Do not think lightly of the poets' work, for each of their sweet words spells a life. Of what value is the pure gold to you when after your death it would no longer be of any service? You should buy an eternal life with gold so that your renown may always live......'[1]

Khusrau complains elsewhere also of this compulsion to attend the court which, as he says, left him no time for attending to his art. In a characteristically outspoken and frank passage at the conclusion of his mathnawī Majnūn-o-Leylā, he compares his lot to that of Niẓāmī who had, he asserts, no other occupation except writing poetry. 'But poor I', he continues, 'needy and confused, have always my brain boiling like a cauldron. All night till day-break and from morn till eve I find no respite from my worries. For the sake of my selfish spirit[2] I have to stand on my feet before a man like myself. As long as my blood mounts not from my foot to my head no one washes my hands with his water. The wages which they give me they think to be a favour and all my labour is ignored, just as an ass, who carries loads of fodder in a sad plight is given some oats with a bad grace.'[3]

But if Khusrau suffered some slight inconvenience and hardship during 'Alāuddīn's reign, he could bear it more calmly and philosophically and with greater patience and resignation for he had now entered upon a new phase in his life. In the year 671 he became a disciple of the famous saint of Delhi, Niẓāmuddīn Auliya, whom he had known from his early youth[4] and for whom he had always had a great regard, and thus started his career as a full-fledged ṣūfī. Moḥammad ibn Aḥmed ibn 'Alī al-Bukhārī Niẓāmuddīn Auliya, one of the most prominent and revered saints of the Chishtiya sect

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1 Literally 'the key to renown may not be lost' که آوازه را گم نه گردد کلید
The poem begins on fol. 817*b* (I.O. MS., 1187) and opens with a description of 'Alāuddīn's exploits. Khusrau calls it his Shāhnāmah.

این نظم غیر نیست که شهنامه من است

2 Nafs-i-khud-rai.

3 Majnūn-o-Leylā (Nawalkishore, p. 46). Hands are washed before meals. The poet means that no one invites him to dine.

4 According to some biographers, Khusrau become a disciple of the Sheikh when he was only eight years of age. This is not correct, but he knew the Sheikh from an early age, as the latter had stayed for some time in the house of Rāwat-Arḍ, the grandfather of the poet. (Cf. Prof. Habib, p. 37).

and known by the title of Sultan-ul-Auliya (the Sultān of saints), was a native of Badaon where he was born in the year 634 H. His grandfather Khwāja 'Alī had migrated from Bukhara[1] to India where he first settled at Lahore and later at Badaon, so that the Sheikh, like his favourite disciple, Khusrau, was of Turkish origin. His father died when he was only five years old and thenceforward he was left to the care of his mother Bibi Zuleykha, a pious and virtuous lady from whom he imbibed his great love for things spiritual. Mother and son soon after moved from Badaon to Delhi and settled down in poor lodgings beneath a mosque leading a life of great indigence and hardship. Niẓāmuddīn, however, did not neglect his early studies and becoming a pupil of Shamsuddīn Khwārizmī, a great scholar of the day who was later appointed to the high post of a minister by Balban,[2] he acquired considerable proficiency in esoteric and exoteric[3] sciences before the age of twelve. One of his neighbours was Najībuddīn al-Mutawakkil, the brother of Sheikh Farīduddīn of Ajodhan[4] and Niẓāmuddīn often frequented his house. There came to al-Mutawakkil's house one day a qawwāl, Abū Bakr by name, from Multan who had visited on his way to Delhi the monastery of Sheikh Farīd, and who related all he had seen there. The young ṣūfī listened with rapt attention and was so impressed by the account of Khwāja Farīd's piety and saintliness that he at once made up his mind to go to Ajodhan and become a disciple of the saint.[5]

Niẓāmuddīn remained with Khwāja Farīd for several years and served his master with great zeal and devotion, thereby winning his special favour, so that when he had completed his training the master gave him a robe and a carpet with his blessings and sent him to Delhi. Delhi, as the capital of Hindustan, had become a haunt of men of all classes and types and was not free of those vices and crimes which crop up in big cities. Niẓāmuddīn

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1 According to the *Akhbār al-Akhyār* (p. 54 Seq.), Niẓāmuddīn Auliyā's paternal and maternal grandfathers, named Khwāja 'Alī and Khwāja 'Arab respectively, both came to India from Bukhara, and settled first in Lahore and then in Badaon. It is, nevertheless, possible that his ancestors came originally from Arabia and were, as commonly believed, Saīyids.

2 He received the title of Shamsul-Mulk. A contemporary poet says :—

شمسا کنون بکام دل دوستان شدی فرمانده ممالک هندوستان شدی

Amīr Khurd makes no mention of Kamāluddīn Zāhid who is said by some authorities to have been a teacher of Niẓāmuddin Auliya. (See Prof. Habib, p. 27.)

3 Ẓāhiriyya and Bāṭiniyya.

4 The modern Pak-Pattan in the Punjab.

5 Khwāja Farīd Ganjishakar was the disciple and successor of Khwāja Quṭbuddīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, a contemporary of Iltūtmise, and the second head of the Chishtiya sect in India, the first being Khwāja Mu'īnuddīn of Ajmer. The originator of the sect is said to be Khwāja Abū Aḥmed Abdāl of Chisht. *Vide* Castes and Tribes of the Punjab (V. I, p. 915 seq.) ; cf. also Firishta II, 375.

hesitated a long time before he finally decided to settle in that city. It was, he thought, noble to live the life of a hermit and recluse away from the noise and bustle of cities—away from temptation and vice, but it was nobler to live with the people and for the people, to remain pure and unsullied in an atmosphere corrupt with sin and to strive to lead the erring souls to truth and virtue by the light of his own piety. He selected for his abode a spot some miles from the city in a village called Ghiyāthpūr[1] and his master, Khwāja Farīd, before his death, appointed him his successor in preference to his own sons.[2] The first few years of his career as a teacher and guide passed in great poverty, but soon his fame spread far and near. In the reign of 'Alāuddīn his disciples numbered thousands, and his monastery was always crowded with darweshes who found food and shelter there. Barni, writing of this period, says: 'The Sheikh-ul-Islām, Niẓāmuddīn, had opened wide the door of a universal disciplehood and bestowed robes and forgiveness on the sinners admitting them to his tutelage. To the elite, as well as to the multitude, to the rich, the poor, the nobles, the paupers, the scholarly, the ignorant, the gentle, the rough, the citizens, the peasants, the warriors, the freemen and the slaves, he gave the four-cornered cap, and the 'miswak' of purification with his blessings......All people, believing in him, tried to emulate him in devotion and virtue. Men and women, young and old, low and mean, servants and slaves, and even small boys had begun to offer their prayers regularly......Rich and benevolent persons had constructed in several pleasant spots between the city and Ghiyāthpūr terraces with thatched roofs and had wells dug there. The terraces were supplied with large jars full of water, clay jugs[3] and mats, and keepers and reciters were posted there so that people coming from or going to the monastery of the Sheikh may not be inconvenienced in making their ablutions at prayer times. In each of these terraces one saw crowds of people offering prayers. Perpetration or talk of crime had declined among the people, and they talked mostly of religious things[4]......So far had the spirit of piety and devotion progressed that even in the royal palace several nobles, silāḥdārs, scribes, soldiers and slaves who had become disciples of the Sheikh performed the 'chāsht' and 'ishrāq'[5]

1 Kaiqobād built his New Palace near this place (at Kiloghari) and a city sprung up there. But 'Alāuddīn again shifted his residence from Kiloghari to Sīrī.

2 A split, however, occurred, and while Nizāmxddīn was in Delhi, Khwāja Farīd's nephew, 'Alāuddīn Ṣābir, founded a rival order (Ṣābiriya) at Pīran Kalyar. (See Castes and Tribes of the Punjab.)

3 Āftāba (Hind: lotā) a vessel with a curved spout.

4 I merely paraphrase here omitting several words.

5 Chāsht or tahajjud: prayers in the last part of the night before the 'fajr' or morning prayers. Ishrāq is the prayer after the morning prayers. Both of them are optional and performed only by the very devout.

prayers and fasted on 'ayyām-i-bīḍ'[1] and the tenth of Muḥarram. There was no quarter in the city where after twenty days or a month there was no gathering of the pious listening to sufistic music and weeping in ecstasy...... Sultan 'Alāuddīn himself, with all his family, had great faith in the Sheikh[2] and the hearts of all classes of people were inclined towards virtue and piety. Never did the name of wine and women, crime and sin, gambling or other vile practices, profane the lips of people during the latter portion of 'Alāuddīn's reign. Most of the students, nobles and great men who attended upon the Sheikh were seen to be busy in the study of books on sufism or the Islamic law. Books like Iḥyā-ul-'Ulūm, its translation, 'Awārif, Kashful-Maḥjūb, Quwwat-ul-Qulūb, the commentary of Ta'arruf, Risāla-i-Qushairī, Mirṣād-ul-'Ibād, maktūbāt of 'Ain-ul-Quḍāt, Lawāyiḥ and Lawāmi' of Qāḍī Ḥamīduddīn Nāgaurī, and the Fāwaid-ul-Fuād of Amīr Ḥasan found eager purchasers, and people generally inquired at the booksellers' for books on sufism and divinity.[3] No turban was seen without a "miswāk"[4] or comb hanging from it, and leather jugs and basins had become dear owing to large numbers of ṣūfī buyers......'[5]

Niẓāmuddīn Auliya, a man of singular piety and learning, who never married and never disgraced the mantle of Khwāja Quṭb that had descended on his shoulders after the death of Khwāja Farīd, was not a dry ascetic. His days passed in fasting, prayers, and teaching and his nights in long vigils with only brief snatches of sleep. When his disciples met him in the morning they found his face lit up with a strange ecstatic glow and his eyes tinged with a soft pink, so that Khusrau is once said to have addressed him with the following well-known verse: 'You look sleepless and tired, in whose embrace did you pass the night, for your drowsy eyes have still the traces of tipsiness?'[6] Yet he was of a pleasant and genial nature, loved to meet and talk with people

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1 The 13th, 14th and 15th of every month.

2 See infra.

3 Ḥaqāiq, literall '*Truths*'.

4 Tooth-brush. A twig of some tree like the tamarisk, used as a tooth-brush.

5 Darweshes carry about these things with them in their wanderings as they are light and portable. Barni, p. 343 sep.

6 تو شبینه مینمائی به بر که بودهٔ شب که هنوز چشم مستت اثر خمار دارد

This is the usual reading. Cf., however, I. O. MS., 1187, fol. 571, in the ghazal beg. :

بت نو رسیدهٔ من هوس شکار دارد

Where the reading of the first line is Shabana. Shabīna and Shabāna, both mean the same thing, viz. anytaing kept over-night ; nocturnal ; tipsy and drowsy, after a night of revelry.

of all classes, possessed a refined taste for poetry[1] and was extremely fond of music. On the fifth of Muḥarram annually the 'urs of Khwāja Farīd was celebrated at his monastery and people came from far and near to listen to the songs of the skilled qawwāls that enlivened the assembly. His disciples danced in rapture on hearing the ghazals of Khusrau, Ḥasan and Sa'dī that were recited to the accompaniment of drums or timbrels.[2] Such a man could not but appreciate the talents of the poet, and so it was with real affection and genuine pleasure that the saint received Khusrau when he called upon him to enrol himself in the growing throng of his disciples. 'A Turk has come to see us,' he said to his servant, 'show him in'. 'Welcome and greetings!' he said to Khusrau as the latter entered, and showed him great favour bestowing upon him a 'bārānī' (upper coat?) and a four-cornered cap.[3]

The saint soon conceived a strong liking for Khusrau. He gave him the title of Turkullah and is said to have remarked: 'I hope on the Day of Judgment to be expunged of all blame by the fire that burns in the heart of this Turk'.[4] Great attachment grew up between master and pupil and Khusrau was one of the most regular attendants at the monastery. Other disciples sought Khusrau's aid to obtain favours from the saint, and Khusrau was always ready to help them. He was still a courtier and so formed a link between the king, princes and nobles on one side and his pious master in his retreat at Ghiyāthpūr on the other, narrating to the Sheikh all the latest developments at the court, for although he never meddled in political affairs, Niẓāmuddīn could not but have a keen interest in them. Many of the nobles were his disciples, and Khiḍr Khān himself had entered their ranks.[5] The

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1 He could himself compose a line or two. See infra for his verses in praise of Khusrau.

2 Simā' or listening to music is permissible among the sūfīs of the Chishtiya sect, but mazāmīr or musical instruments, particularly of the flute type, are banned. For a characteristic statement about the legality of simā', see Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, Bib. Ind. Fasc., I, p. 85, where Jamāluddīn Hānswī, a contemporary of Khusrau and a disciple of Niẓāmuddīn Auliya says

تا حکم سماع را بدانی در حال   در حلّت و حرمتش سخن گفت جمال
ارباب نفوس را حرامست حرام   احباب قلوب را حلالست حلال

On p. 80 of Afḍal-ul-Fawāid, see a description of one of these 'urses.

3 Afḍal-ul-Fawāid. (کلاه چهار ترکی)

4 See Daulat Shāh, p. 239 ; Firishta, V, 2, p. 402 seq.

5 Khiḍr Khān was the heir-apparent. Khusrau, alluding to this, says : 'Khiḍr grasped his (the saint's) hand and Khiḍr Khān his feet'.

خضر دستش گرفت و خضر خان پای

According to Firishta, the monastery, in which the saint lies buried, was built by this prince.

king, too, in spite of all his scepticism and want of interest in things religious or spiritual, had great esteem for him and sought his moral aid in times of political and military stress.[1]

Many stories are told about Khusrau and his master. It is said that the poet saw Khiḍr in a dream and asked him for a drop of his saliva that could impart wonderful sweetness and eloquence to his poetry and warrant him an eternal fame. 'That gift,' replied Khiḍr, 'I have already bestowed on Sa'dī'. The poet much dejected went to his teacher and related the occurrence, whereupon the saint dropped into his mouth his own saliva which turned out to be as efficacious and potent as that of the old man, Khiḍr. According to another and a more acceptable version, the saint took out from under his bedstead a dish full of sweets and scattered it over the poet's head, so that a sweetness, strange and supernatural, crept into his poetry.

Be it as it may, the fact is that, although the poet had achieved the highest perfection in his poetry long before he became a disciple of the saint, his association with him gave it a new strength and vigour, imparted to it that fire and glow which are almost divine and which bring a poet very close to the level of a prophet. Henceforth his heart was set on things beyond sordid worldly intrigues and ambitions, and, although he still continued to sing the praises of princes, all his serious thoughts dwelt in the realm of spiritual bliss and ecstasy. 'Happy the hour,' he sings, 'when with a firm belief I grasped the hand of that hand-grasper, for the hand of that 'king' becoming a boat laid open to me the nine oceans (of gnosticism). From him I found the saliva that has given such a lustre and freshness to my poetry.[2] Even Khiḍr seeks the sweet water that I have got from him and that keeps me alive. If I pour two drops of this water into my ink-pot, they will be like the water of life in the dark well, and when one of those drops I take out with my pen I would

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1 See Firishta, V, 2, p. 391 seq. Qarābeg, the great favourite of 'Alāuddin, who was a disciple of the saint, was once asked by 'Alāuddin to take to the Sheikh two lacs of tangahs from him. When Malik Kāfūr was on an expedition in Deccan, 'Alāuddin received no news from him for a long time and sent Qarābeg and Qāḍi Mughithuddīn to Nizamuddin Auliya requesting him to use his spiritual powers in lifting the veil that hung upon the fate of the Islamic army. See Barni, p. 330.

2 It is probably this verse (من از وی لعاب دهن یافتم * که زینگونه آب سخن یافتم) that has given birth to the story narrated above. Khusrau, of course, is speaking metaphorically here. The verses occur in Nuh Sipihr (Introduction in praise of Niẓāmuddīn Auliyā, beg.:

بنه بحر زانجا مرا راه شد   که کشتی مرا دست آن شاه شد
خوش آندم که من ز اعتقاد ضمیر   گرفتم بحق دست آن دستگیر

make a river flow abroad. These verses are like oceans, yet they cannot circumvent the virtues of my teacher, and I can scarcely raise my head for shame at offering to him only what I have got from him'.[1]

Nothing can exceed the poet's enthusiasm and admiration for his 'pīr'. All his works, since the time he became his disciple, are preceded by his praises,[2] with usual exaggerations: 'The noble and exalted Sheikh', he says, 'to whose far reaching sight the treasures of the two worlds are but like an atom as compared with the precious treasure of 'faqr'! He who becomes his disciple is dragged out of the mire of self as a cup is drawn from the wine (pitcher). He whose tongue is trained by him, has a sword that splits open the pen of fate, and every sick person for whom he prays is spared affectionately by death...... The world that is a hell full of fire is like the knife of Ishmael for his disciples'.[3]

The saint, too, on his side had the highest regard for the great poet who in spite of his constant association with nobles and princes was at heart as pure and virtuous a darwesh as any of his other disciples. Khusrau's ready humour, his lively nature and his versatile genius made him a pleasant companion. 'I get tired of every one', the saint once said to Khusrau, 'but I never get tired of you'.[4] He once composed the following quatrain in admiration of his pupil:

'Khusrau, like whom few men have written poetry or prose, is certainly the king of poesy's realm. He is our Khusrau, not Nāṣir Khusrau, and God himself is the helper of our Khusrau.'[5]

When Khusrau presented to the Sheikh part of the MS. of his work Afḍal-ul-Faw id,[6] the Sheikh took the leaves in his hands and studied them,

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1 " ولی زین خجالت نیارم برو   که هم زان او می نثارم برو "

2 See Wasṭul-Ḥayāt ; Ghurratul Kamāl ; Baqīya-i-Naqīya (fol. 336*b*, 1187, a long ode entitled Subhat-ul-Awrād and beg. : ز عین معنی اگر بینش کسی است مدام Nihāyat-ul-Kamāl (B.M., MS. 35,807, fol. 442*b*, the preface, and fol. 446*b*, the ode entitled ثابت النعت).

3 Nihāyat (qouted above). The knife became blunt as Abraham tried to slaughter his son Ishmael with it.

4 Haft Iqlīm of Amīn Rāzī (I.O., MS. under Delhi—Khusrau) on the authority of Afḍal-ul-Fawāid.

5 Ibid., خسرو که به نظم و نثر مثلش کم خاست * ملکیست که ملک سخن آن خسرو راست
آن خسرو ما ست ناصر خسرو نیست * زیراکه خدای ناصر خسرو ما ست
Nāṣir Khusrau is, of course, the well-known writer, the author of the Safarnāmeh. See Browne : Lit. Hist., II, 218 seq.

6 Literally 'the best of observations or morals', a collection of the sayings of the saint. Amīr Ḥasan wrote a similar book which he named Fawāid-ul-Fu'ād.

saying frequently: 'You have written well and have named well.' He corrected the manuscript here and there and then turning to those around him he said: 'It is really creditable for Khusrau to write down so many observations for he is always plunged from head to foot in the ocean of ideas. But God has leavened all the organs of Khusrau's body with wisdom and learning for he swims all day long in the sea of ideas and brings out a hundred thousand pearls.' 'Whereupon,' says Khusrau, 'I rose from my place and bowed to the ground, saying: "All these ideas which come to my mind are due to the blessing of your grace and power, for you train me with your auspicious guidance. God be praised for that". The Khwāja then gave me his special robe and cap'.[1]

The Sheikh's kindness and affection were a source of great strength for the poet in his old age, and helped him to bear with patience the sorrows and bereavements that often beset the declining years of man, and of which. Khusrau had his full share. In 698 H. he lost his beloved mother and his younger brother, Qutlugh, in the short space of a week and was almost overwhelmed by his grief. The love of his mother and her affectionate solicitude for her son were as great as those of her son for her. She had been all in all to Khusrau ever since he was left an orphan of seven by his father and her motherly advice was always sought and obeyed by him. In the touching verses, at the close of his poem, Majnūn-o-Leylā, he says: 'Thou hast gone and strength has left my body; I succumb for the support is gone...... When thy lips could talk, thy advice led me to my welfare; but to-day the bond of love is sundered—and yet thy silence guides me, for if I pay heed and remain sensible I can still hear thy voice'.[2]

Meanwhile his patron, 'Alāuddīn, the 'second Alexandar' was also fast approaching his end. He contracted a disease[3] that confined him to his bed. Misfortunes seemed to have conspired to make his last days bitter. His sons became truculent and refractory, and his wives were always busy in arranging marriages of his numerous progeny and giving big feasts, while the king lay ignored and forgotten. Alp Khan, his brother-in-law, the governor of Gujarat, and Malik Kafur were hatching their own designs and plans

1 Afḍal-ul-Fawāid, p. 110 seq. Khusrau presented the book on the 27th of Jumād-ul-Ākhīr, 715 H. (?). The cap had four corners and was known as kulāh-i-chahār tarkī or 'ṭāqiya-i-chahār khānehdār'. The four corners symbolozed the law (شريعة), the path (طريقه), gnosticism (معرفة), and verity or truth (حقيقه). See Afḍal-ul-fawaid, p. 1 seq.

2 The whole passage addressed to his dead mother and brother is a fine specimen of Khusrau's simple and touching style that he often employed in his elegies. See Majnūn -o-Leylā (Nawalkishore, 1880, p. 60 seq.).

3 According to several historians it was dropsy.

and nobody seemed to have any sympathy for him.[1] The rivalry between Alp Khān and Kāfūr ended in the murder of the former and the exile of Khiḍr Khān to Amroha that in their turn led to a terrible rising in Gujarat. Khiḍr Khān had vowed to visit the tombs of various saints if his father recovered and hearing of an improvement in his condition he started on his pilgrimage and at the end of it came to Delhi without the king's permission.[2]

Kāfūr at once took advantage of this act of insubordination to secure an order from the king disinheriting Khiḍr Khān in favour of a younger son, Shihābuddīn, and exiling him to the fortress of Gwaliyar. 'God be exalted!' says Khusrau, 'I know not what his ('Alāuddīn's) heart was like, that such a pearl was to him but as dust. Such an ocean-like drop that had trickled from him, he cast away like a drop of sweat from the brow. His patience was so wonderful that he did not lose heart as his life departed. His beloved son was disappearing from his eye, but he kept his tears back.'[3] 'Alauddin died soon after.[4] His end was hastened probably by poison administered to him by Malik Kāfūr,[5] who now became the virtual ruler of the vast kingdom of 'Alāuddīn having constituted himself the guardian of the infant prince, Shihābuddīn.

Almost the first act of Kāfūr after 'Alāuddīn's death was his brutal treatment of Khiḍr Khān.

He had bound himself by the most sacred oaths before his master not to harm the disinherited and unfortunate prince[6] but hardly had the king's coffin been lowered into the grave when he threw all promises to the wind[7]

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1 See Barni, p. 368.

2 Khusrau describes all these events in his Khiḍr Khān-o-Dewalrānī. According to him, Khiḍr Khān suffered these misfortunes for slighting his pīr Nizāmuddīn Auliya. He went to visit a sanctuary in Hastnapur, but did not visit his monastery. He had, moreover, he adds, erred from the path of virtue and had become pleasure-loving and profligate, so that thousands of tempting beauties accompanied him even on his pilgrimage. (See I.O. MS., 1187; fol. 670 seq.).

چو بر رسم زیار تگاه میرفت   هزاران رهزنش همراه میرفت

بدستش طرهٔ سیمین عذران   چو سجه در کف پرهیزگاران

3 'Ashiqa (I.O. MS., 1187, fol. 676). " تعالی الله ندانم آنچه دل بود الخ "

4 Khusrau gives the date as the 7th of Shawwāl, 715 H.

5 See Barni. The fact that Khusrau calls him Shāh-i-Shahīd (the martyr-Shah), would also suggest that 'Alāuddīn was actually murdered. (See Nuh Sipihr IVth, fol 68, I.O. MS. and Appendix (Tughlaq Nāmah).

6 According to Khusrau he swore by God, the Koran, the Law and the Faith, as well as by salt and sword. (شمشیر و نمک?). 'Ashīqa (I.O. MS., 1187, fol. 676).

7 Khusrau says: هنوز آن ماه را نه برده در مهد * که گشت آن دشمن مهدی کش از عهد ('Ashīqa : fol. 134 seq. of I.O. MS., No. 1215.) The epithet Mahdī-Kush would also show that Kāfūr killed 'Alāuddīn.

and despatehd a slave, Sunbul by name, to Gwaliyar with instructions to blind Khiḍr Khān. This was accomplished and Khiḍr Khān was thus rendered incapable of any ambitious designs on the throne of his father. Shādī Khān and Farīd Khān, two other sons of the late king, were also blinded and the mother of Khiḍr Khān was robbed of all her possessions and confined in a solitary dwelling.

Mubārak Khān, another prince, alone had escaped the terrible needle and to him also Kāfūr now turned his attention. But luckily before he could harm him he was himself killed by some of his most trusted servants who overpowered him in his bedroom in the palace of Hazār-Sutūn[1] where he had enjoyed a short sway of about a month. 'People watched from a distance', says Khusrau, 'the spring of sedition[2] for they beheld eunuchs like Kāfūr and Sunbul holding court......but the prayers of the afflicted have an effect. The world made out of the sighs of the oppressed a sword and flung his ominous head off his inauspicious shoulders.'[3]

Mubārak Khān, a youth of twenty, now occupied the throne of Delhi with the title of Quṭbuddīn. He was proclaimed king on the 24th of Muḥarram, 716 H. amid universal rejoicing.[4] People welcomed him with great enthusiasm after the stern rule of 'Alāuddīn and the cruel actions of his Bārbek, Malik Kāfūr. Once more they beheld a youthful, generous and pleasant monarch like Kaiqobād on the throne, and strove to compensate for the long years of forced abstinence and piety. 'Handsome, young musicians flocked to the city. The price of a young slave or a beautiful slave-girl reached as high as 500, 1,000 or even 2,000 tankahs, and although Quṭbuddīn kept in force 'Alāuddīn's decree of prohibition, every house was converted into a tavern on account of lack of vigilance and absence of fear, and wine began to be brought to the city from villages under a hundred pretexts and guises.'[5]

The new king, however, began his career with an ambitious campaign in the Deccan. Full of youthful vigour 'he wanted now to betake himself to Ghaznīn and to place his spear among the enemies of Islam—to render the world as narrow as the crease of a cloak for the Chinese of Cathay, and now he wished that, in accord with the desires of his friends, he should destroy the rāis of Hindustan—should surprise the masters of elephants and capture

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1 Thousand-pillars.

2 Bahār-i-fitna, i.e., the outburst of sedition.

بہار فتنہ خلق از دور دیدند   کہ بار سنبل و کافور دیدند

3 'Ashīqa (I.O. MS., 1215, fol. 135 seq.). Khusrau describes Kāfūr's death as a vegeance brought about by Niẓāmuddīn's spiritual powers, whose disciple (although somewhat errant) Khiḍr Khān was.

4 Nuh Sipihr (I.O. MS., fol. 15). Cf. Barni, p. 381, who gives the year as 717.

5 Barni, p. 384.

a thousand clouds with a drop'.[1] He consequently marched out from the capital with a large army and, halting for some time at Talpat, arrived in Deogir, which city assumed since then, though only for a short period, the name of Quṭbābād.[2]

Rāghū, the nāib of Rāmdeo,[3] was the only Hindu chieftain who offered resistance to the royal army. He retreated to the hills but was hunted out and forced to fight. A large number of his followers were killed, but Rāghū escaped and concealed himself in an inaccessible cave.

The king then sent Khusrau Khān, a Hindu convert of a low caste,[4] who, like Malik Kāfūr of old, had won the royal favour more by his beauty and charm than by conspicuous ability, against the country of Tilang. Rudra Deva (Laddar Deo) had apparently thrown off the yoke placed on his shoulders by Kāfūr and when the Khān approached Arangal he prepared to meet him. He had five thousand horsemen and an infantry 'more numerous than the thorns of the desert'. The musicians in the fortress sang war-like songs and the Brahmins prayed. 'But', says Khusrau, 'although the Hindus can fight bravely against one another, they cannot fight the Turks, just as two cocks can fight a grim and angry duel but scurry away at the approach of a falcon......In fact it has been the tradition since oldest times in the world that the Hindus should always fall a prey to the Turks'.[5]

After preliminary skirmishes in one of which Qutlugh, Ghāzī Kāmil and Timur, the governor of Chanderi, routed Kunda, a powerful warrior and killed Devra Mehta with many a sāwant and r na, the royal army drove

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1 Nuh Sipihr (I.O. MS., fol. 15 seq.). The clouds are elephants and the drop of water the point of the lance or spear.

2 No historian, strangely enough, has noticed this name. But Khusrau says clearly in his ode in praise of Deogir written in the reign of Mubārak Shāh (Nihāyat-ul-Kamāl : B.M. MS., No. 25,807, fol. 459*b* seq.).

زهی مبارک شهری شه خجسته بلاد   که نام یافت ز قطب سپهر قطب آباد

See also Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings (pp. 179 and 180) where a gold coin of Mubārak Shāh's reign is described. The coin struck in 718 bears the legend ضرب هذه السکة بقلعة قطب آباد فی سنه الخ. Thomas supposes Quṭbābād to be some part of the city of Delhi, but it is certain that the coin was s ruck at Deogir, then called Quṭbābād, which was a place of mintage in the time of Quṭbuddīn's predecessors as well as his successors.

3 The narrative has Rāi Rām, but the poet evidently means Rāmdeo of Deogir who was now dead. The nāib or minister is said to have had high ambitions of driving out the Mohammadans from the south and establishing a Hindu rāj.

4 He was a Parwār of Gujrat. See, however, Appendix (Tughlaq Nāmah).

5 "جهانرا قدیم آمد این رسم و پیشه   که هندو شود صید ترکان همیشه"

in the Hindus to the inner rampart and set fire to one of its gates, and 'the fire-worshippers of Rudra began killing their god on every side'.[1]

Laddardeo was soon closely besieged and the khān had made all arrangements for storming the fortress,[2] when he sent some messengers with rich presents asking for peace. The presents included pearls, large quantities of pure gold, Hindui silk cloth so fine that 'a hundred yards of it could easily be contained in the eye, and through which oil and water as well as war-like missiles could not pierce',[3] elephants and horses. The khān accepted the presents and the rajah, having agreed to pay an annual tribute of twenty lakh achuas of gold, a hundred elephants and a thousand horses with ten caskets of pearls and other rich presents, and to cede the territory of Badrkot, a treaty of peace was concluded.[4] The rajah signed it with the seal of Laddar Mahadeo[5] and the khān gave him afresh the 'chatr' and other insignia of authority bestowed upon him by 'Alāuddīn. The khān now turned back and joined the king, who had already left Deogir, half-way on the road to Delhi. Great preparations were made in the capital for the reception of the king. 'Gold cloth was hung on the walls that glistened like the rays of the sun, and the walls covered with red cloth looked like a boor in a robe of ṣāḥibī.[6] The ground was hidden beneath gold embroidered velvet like a beautiful bride on the eve of her wedding, and was sprinkled with the blood of sacrifices. On all sides men and women had crowded to watch the procession and looked at the king's face with a thousand desires. The hearts of the people were

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1 I.e. quenching the fire. Cf. Elliot who translates : (iii, 559) 'The fire-worshippers of Bud were in great alarm and flocked round their idol', while the Original has: تگ و پویه آتش پرستان رد را * بهرسو بکشتند معبود خود را
Rudra is one of the names of Śiva.

2 The contrivances mentioned are : pāshīb (a platform or escalade) which Elliot wrongly renders by 'mine', 'arrāda, manjanīq, matras, maghribī and kuroha, all different varieties of catapults.

3 ازو بگذرد هم نه آبی نه چربی   نه چون قطرهٔ آب پیکان حربی
This is interesting. Was the cloth really weapon-proof ?

4 The original stipulations made by Khusrau Khān included the cession of five districts, viz.: آلور، کیلاس ، بسودن ، بدرکوت and کویر and 60 lac achuas of gold An alternative reading of the first name is بدرکوب .

5 Laddar Mahadeo may here be simply the name of the rajah (Laddar, the great deo) or may mean the god Mahadeo or Śiva, one of whose names was Rudra.
See supra. بلدّر مهادیو کرده مسجّل .

6 Ṣāḥibī is a striped silk cloth.

happy at the sight of the royal visage and they prayed and blessed.[1] Many a marriage-bond was torn on every side and many a record of crime was washed out.'[2]

Qu buddīn now completed the mosque which he had ordered to be built before he started for Deogir. A pillar of red stone was raised in the courtyard of the mosque. 'The surface of the stones was rendered so bright that like a mirror one could see one's face in them......The king could have made the pillar of rubies but he did not want to feed thieves, and if he had it studded with gold and silver it would have become like the palace of Shadd d.[3] Many a stone is better than pearls, for it conceals and protects while pearls raise trouble. The fortress was then built with baked bricks so closely joined that through their crevices not only a hair, but imagination itself could not pierce without being scratched. And when the building was ready all other cities offered their tributes of praise to it. Delhi is the "Dār-ul-Khilāfah" and all countries are proud of it.[4]

Mubārak Shāh had now little else to do. Peace prevailed in the country. The veteran Ghāzī Malik Tughlaq kept the Mongols at bay in the north and the rajahs of the south were submissive. The youthful king passed his time in revelry and jollity, drinking wine and listening to music. Poets and musicians received huge rewards and Khusrau was one of the earliest among the former to win royal favours. He was invited to the court soon after the king's return from Deogir. The king, relates Khusrau, sat among his courtiers and was discussing the relative merits of old and modern poets, and some praised Sanāi while others preferred Sa'dī. The king said that the advent of great poets like Khāqānī, 'Unṣur and Firdausī was due to the generosity of kings, and he continued: 'We are not less than they were in ambition...... Have we not sufficient wealth in our treasury? There never had been a king

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1 Damīdan, literally blowing, means blessing generally by the recitation of some verses from the Koran.

2 "بسی خط کابین که شد چاک هر سو   بسی نامهای گنه پاک هر سو"

The idea is that the king's beauty sundered the marriage bonds, the women all falling in love with him, while the king forgave criminals and liberated prisoners. Cf. Miftāhul-futūḥ, where Khusrau says :

ز هر بامی عروسان در نظاره   رخ شه دیده کابین کرده پاره

although کابین is substituted by برقع in one of the MSS.

3 And so would have savoured of unholy pride. It is difficult to say which particular mosque or pillar the poet is alluding to. Some historians seem to have wrongly ascribed the building of the Quṭb pillar to Quṭbuddīn on account of a similarity in name. Khusrau evidently is referring to some other pillar.

4 Khusrau repeatedly calls Quṭbuddīn, Khalīfa in his Nuh Sipihr. He and 'Alāuddīn are the only two kings thus designated.

under the sky who could give a reward of ten or twenty lacs of tankahs ; the first king to do that was he who was the glory of the world and the faith[1] . . . . But if he gave hundreds to a slave, I give thousands and yet I am not content with this. I aspire to give hundred times more to those who ask for rewards, and to give an elephant's weight of gold from rich and countless treasures to the man who writes well the history of my reign. The way to this generosity was shown to me by my father who used to give gold equal in weight to an elephant and they who are wise know that that is heavier in weight than an elephant-load of gold . . . . . . Since I have inherited this magnificent generosity, it does not behove me to give less.'

Khusrau undertook the task. He was more than sixty now[2] and had already served three kings. But his poetry was as vigorous as ever and the soon completed the wonderful mathnawī, Nuh Sipihr.[3] Whether he actually got an elephant's weight of gold in reward for it, is uncertain,[4] but certainly his remuneration was generous, for he says, addressing Quṭbudd·n,[5] 'The gift that I have got from a Jem like you, I had rarely obtained from former kings, and the poetry, composed by this old wizard of a poet, is also worthy of the gift. My former writings hardly approach this special poem, for in it I have employed a new method of description and on every page have poured an ocean (of ideas).'

But the genial and pleasant monarch soon got into evil ways. He became more and more profligate in his habits and at the same time arrogantly proud and cruel. The helpless princes, Khiḍr Khān and Shādī Khān, were cruelly murdered in the fortress of Gwaliyar after a conspiracy formed by Asadudd n had been detected.[6] Even the dethroned boy-king, Shihābudd·n, was not spared, and Quṭbuddīn adopted an attitude of open defiance and in-

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1 He means نخستین کسی کو بداد این صلا * همین بود دنیای و دین را علا his father 'Alāuddīn. My translation of the passage is rather free. The fore-going narrative is based on the Nuh Sipihr. Elliot translates many passages, but his translation is very faulty. The account of the siege of Warangal, for instance, has been all confused in his translation.

2 He says himself : مرا عمر کز شصت بالا گذشت * همه پیش شاهان والا گذشت

3 Khusrau finished the poem in Jumād I, 718 H. He calls it '*Sultān-Nāmah*': " بستم این زیور سلطان نامه "

4 See Aḥmed Sa'īd Mahrahrawī and Khusrau Kī Hindi Kawita, Shibli, II, p. 121, all of whom assert that he did get that amount of gold, but it seems very improbable.

5 Nuh Sipihr. Introduction.

" چنین بخششی کز تو جم یافتم   ز شاهان پیشینه کم یافتم "

6 Asaduddīn was a cousin (عمزاده) of 'Alāuddīn. His plan was to surprise and kill the king while he was returning from his campaign in Deccan. See Firishta,

insult to the old Sheikh, Niẓāmuddīn, whom he suspected to be sympathetic towards Khiḍr Khān. Courtesans and buffoons crowded his palace, and he often amused himself in very original ways. He would dress himself in woman's clothes and receive his courtiers in that garb while wicked women mocked and abused nobles like 'Ain-ul-Mulk Mūltanī, from the roof of the Hazār-sutūn. Buffoons, stark naked, walked into the midst of nobles and courtiers, soiled their clothes and did other reprehensible and villainous things while the king looked on and laughed.[1]

He never performed the prayers and broke the fast of Ramaḍān openly. 'He opened his tongue to revile Niẓamuddīn Auliya and was overtly hostile to him. He forbade his courtiers to visit Ghiyāthpūr and would often say in fits of drunkenness: "I shall give a thousand tankahs of gold to him who brings me the head of Niẓāmuddīn". One day when he met the Sheikh in the monastery of Sheikh Ḍiyāuddīn Rūmī on the day of his siyum,[2] he paid no regard to the Sheikh's sanctity and position and did not return his greeting. In order to humiliate the Sheikh he made Sheikhzāda Jām, who was a rival of the Sheikh, his great favourite and invited the Sheikh-i-Islām Ruknuddīn from Multan to Delhi.'[3] He did not stop here, but insisted that he, like other religious heads, should visit his court at least once a month.[4] He fixed the last day of the month as the date on which the Sheikh must go to

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I, 125, and Barni, 392, who describes him as 'uncle' (عم) of 'Alāuddīn. Devaldi was in Gwaliyar with her husband, being his sole comforter and sympathizer, and according to Khusrau, Mubārak was enraged at the refusal of Khiḍr Khān to hand her over to him. He is, however, silent as to her subsequent fate, though Firishta says she was married to Mubārak after Khiḍr Khān's death. Elliot, entirely mis-reading the last portion of the 'Ashīqa, concludes that she was killed with her husband.

1 Barni's words are interesting : (p.396).

" و از بام هزار ستون ملک عین الملک ملتانی را که از اکابر امرای ملوک عصر
او بود و قرا بیگ را که چهارده شغل داشت از عورتان مسخرهٔ فحاش دشنامها چنان
پلید میگویانید که در سمع حاضران هزار ستون می افتاد و از نهایت بیباکی توبه نام
گجراتی مسخره را در مجلس خود استیلا داد و آن بهنڈکم اصل ملوک را نام زن و
و ما در میگفت و ذکر کشیده در می آمد و در جامهٔ ملوک کمیز میکرد و گوزها
رها میکرد و بعض وقت مطلق عریان شده در مجمع می آمدی و فحش گفتی " *

2 The third day after death, when a ceremony is held. Ḍiyāuddīn Rūmī was the spiritual guide of Mubārak Shāh.

3 Barni, p. 396. Cf. also Firishta.

4 Mubārak Shāh, who had assumed the proud title of Khalīfa, considered himself to be the religious as well as the secular head of his subjects, and as such expected all saints and sheikhs to pay homage to him. He styled himself the 'Viceroy of the God of all the Worlds' (خلیفة رب العالمین) a dignity to which even

the palace to pay him homage, threatening him with dire consequences if he did not do so. There was great consternation among the disciples of the Sheikh for he was determined to disregard the royal orders, and several of them, including Amīr Khusrau's elder brother, 'Izzuddīn 'Alī Shāh, tried hard to persuade him. But the Sheikh was as firm as ever and so the worst was feared by all. Yet before the fatal hour could come Quṭbuddīn himself was brutally murdered by his favourite, Khusrau Khān.

Khusrau Khān had been planning to compass the king's death and to occupy the throne ever since his expedition to the south. Several of the nobles had warned the king of his evil designs, yet he was so infatuated that he disbelieved them all and even punished them for telling, as he thought, jealous lies against his favourite. His kindness to the Parwār increased every day and Khusrau Khān managed to gather a large number of his kinsmen around him who frequented the palace freely at all hours, till one night they overpowered and killed the faithful tutor of the king who had often remonstrated with the king about the liberty and power granted to the Parwārs.[1] Khusrau Khān was with the king who hearing the tumult asked him what had happened. 'It is only some horses got loose from the stable', he assured him. But soon his accomplices rushed, swords in hand, into the royal chamber. The king, realizing the treachery too late, rushed towards the harem, but Khusrau Khān pursuing, caught him by his long hair, and in spite of all the king's efforts to free himself he held on, till the Parwārs came and severed the king's head. The severed head was thrown down into the lower court where it rolled amongst the feet of the scared royal guards, who all took to flight. A terrible massacre ensued. Even women of the royal household were murdered and insulted. Khusrau Khān at once sent for all the important nobles and they were compelled to submit to his authority and to acknowledge him king.

A reign of terror followed the murder of Quṭbuddīn.[2] Khusrau Khān gave important offices, high positions and big titles to his Hindu kinsmen who scoffed at Islam and used copies of the Koran as stools. Our poet, who, in spite of Quṭbuddīn's animosity towards his Sheikh, seems to have been on

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his ambitious father did not make any pretension. See the legends on his coins. (Thomas' Pathan Kings.)

1 His name was Qāḍī Ḍiyāuddīn and was popularly known as Qāḍī Khān. He had taught the king calligraphy and was honoured and respected by him, and was entrusted with the keys of the palace.

2 Khusrau Khān's regime lasted for a little less than five months, while his unfortunate master, Quṭbuddīn, occupied the throne for four years and four months. See, however, Appendix (Tughāluq Namah).

very good terms with the profligate but lovable monarch,[1] kept aloof from the court during this period of turmoil, which, however, did not last long.

Among the most notable and powerful nobles whom Khusrau Khān kept almost like prisoners in Delhi were ʻAin-ul-Mulk Multānī and Jūna Khān, son of Malik Tughlaq, but one night Jūna Khān, eluding the vigilance of Khusrau Khān, fled away to Deopālpur and joined his father, who at once made preparations to march on Delhi and to rid her of the foul presence of Khusrau Khān. He was joined by a well-equipped army from Multan under Malik Bahrām, and, advancing from Deopālpur, routed at Sarsuti an army, sent by Khusrau Khān under the command of his brother, Khān-i-Khānān. Khusrau Khān was now struck with panic, for the veteran malik advanced fast towards the capital. He began to distribute gold right and left. All his soldiers were given two or even three years' pay in advance and large sums were paid to all the holy personages, including Niẓāmuddīn Auliya, to pray for his success.[2] But he could not elude Nemesis. He took up his position outside the city near the ʻAlāi tank and awaited the arrival of Tughlaq. ʻAin-ul-Mulk Multānī left him on the eve of the battle which could have only one result, for it was impossible for Khusrau Khān and his half-hearted, inexperienced companions to withstand the onslaught of the malik whose whole life had passed in fighting the sturdy Mongols and whose soldiers were all tried and faithful. In spite of the gallant fight of Shāista Khān and Malik Talīgha of Nagor[3] and Khusrau Khān's own desperate and determined stand, the forces of Delhi were soon defeated. Khusrau Khān, fleeing, took refuge in the tomb of his late patron and master, Malik Shādī, but was captured and put to death, and thus on the first of Shaʻbān, 721 H., Malik Tughlaq entered Delhi as the champion and avenger of the ʻAlāi family, and as no male member of that doomed family was alive, all the nobles selected him as their king and

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1 But Khusrau could not help condemning his cold-blooded murder of Khiḍr Khan and in the concluding portion of the ʻAshīqa, written after Quṭbuddīn's reign, he calls him cruel (bīmihr).

"که چون سلطان مبارکشاه بی مهر — ز تلخی گشت بر خویشان ترش چهر
صلاح خویش در خونریز شان دید — سزاواری به تیغ تیز شان دید
بر آن شد تا کند از کین سگالی — ز انبازان ملک اقلیم خالی" الخ

(I.O. MS., 1215, fol. 140*b* seq.)

2 Niẓāmuddīn Auliya, like most of the other sheikhs, accepted the money, but, as Barni says, they all prayed for the success of Islam, saying : 'O God, help him who helps the faith of Muḥammad on whom be peace and blessing'. Their prayers were thus really meant for the success of Malik Tughlaq.

3 The only two able generals who remained faithful to him.

master, and he ascended the throne of Delhi with the title of Ghiyāthuddīn amidst general applause and relief.

Khusrau greeted him enthusiastically. In an elegy on Mubārak Shāh written at that time he says: 'The sun casts dust on its head every night when it goes down in mourning for that bright sun who lies beneath dust. If a dog has slain the lion do not be astonished for even of old many a fierce lion has fallen a prey to a shamefaced dog. The spirit of Sultan Quṭbuddīn, now in heaven, will have for its companions Jesus and Gabriel[1] . . . . . The king Ghiyāthuddīn is a second Abū Muslim,[2] who with the strokes of his sword has avenged the blood of the second Ḥaidar. He is the defender of Islam, Tughlaq Shāh, whom the sky has evolved after long years of astral revolutions.'[3]

Tughlaq Shāh,[4] an extremely pious and virtuous man, soon won the hearts of all his subjects by his simplicity, sincerity and generosity, and restored order and peace throughout the dominions disturbed by the sad events at Delhi. He appointed his eldest son, Fakhruddīn Jūna Khān, his heir and bestowed on him a canopy and the title of Ulugh Khān. To his remaining four sons he gave the titles of Bahrām Khān,[5] Ẓafar Khān, Maḥmūd Khān and Nuṣrat Khān, and strove as far as possible to compensate the members of the 'Alāi family and their dependants for the disaster that had befallen them.

'Ulugh Khān led an expedition to Deogir in 722 H. to quell certain disturbances there and to punish Laddardeo of Warangal who had again become refractory, and Khusrau seems to have accompanied the prince. Deogir, then known as Quṭbābād,[6] appears to have captured the poet's fancy, and in an

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1 Rūḥullah and Rūḥ-ul-amīn, literally 'the spirit (breath) of God' and 'the trusted spirit'.

2 Abū Muslim of Khorasan, the henchman of the Abbasids who, posing as the champion of the Prophet's family, unfurled the black banner of revolt against the Omeyyads in A.D. 747 at Merv. See Nicholson's Lit.: Hist. of the Arabs, p. 251 seq.

3 حامیء اسلام تغلق شاه که انجم سالها
چرخ میزد تا فلک زینگونه دین پرور کشید

4 Khusrau has more than one ode in praise of this prince. See Nihāyat-ul-Kamal (B.M. MS., 25,807), fol. 460*b* and 461, odes beg.:

هر مژدهٔ مراد که از آسمان رسید ; خطی که سبزه بر لب آب روان کشید

and باز باغ آرایشی از سر گرفت

5 See supra.

6 I adopt the familiar reading of the name. The learned editor of the Camb. Hist. of India (V. III), prefers Tughluq, the reading given by Ibn-i-Battūta, who he says must have known the correct pronunciation of such names. I think, on the other hand, Ibn-i-Battūta is a very unreliable authority in this respect. What should we think of his reading of Iltūtmish as Lilmish ?

ode he describes its charms and amenities at great length. 'Wonderful and auspicious city', he says, 'the queen of the blessed realm which received the name of Qu bābād from the Pivot of the World.[1] When infidelity prevailed here people were oppressed by demons and that is why the ancient deo[2] named it Deogir. Now that it has become the "egg" of Islam nothing but the noble and divine phoenix of happy augur can take its birth in it. It is no flattery to call it paradise, but I do not call it that, lest it be condounded with the paradise of Shaddād. The city was surely destined to become a paradise under Islamic rule, for that is why it has been so carefully decorated......It is due, perchance, to hearing the fame of this city that Cairo has dipped her robe in the nīl[3] and Baghdad has split into two. The air is so pleasant that it produces only joy similar to that promised to men of good deeds in the next world......How can I describe its fruit? The fruit of all the world is jealous of it.[4] There are the bananas curved like the crescent-moon, and as pleasant as the 'Īd-day. There is also the mango whose sweetness delights every palate and which looks like a golden shell[5] full of milk and honey, and makes the mouth of the sugar-candy water.....And then there is the wonderful leaf, tanbul, which intoxicates life and heart with its pleasant taste....It has, again, so many pearls and precious stones that the ocean and the mines are now unable to produce any more......The fineness of its cloths is difficult to describe: the skin of the moon removed by the "executioner-star"[6] would not be so fine. One could compare it to a drop of water if that drop fell, against nature, from the font of the sun.[7] A hundred yards of it can pass through the eye of a needle, so fine is its texture, and yet the point of a steel needle can pierce through it only with difficulty.[8] It is so transparent and

1 Quṭb-i-'Ā'lam, i.e. Quṭbuddīn. Quṭb is the highest rank of the sufi dignitaries.

2 Dīv-i-Kuhan. The poet probably means Mahadeo or the founder of the city.

3 A play upon the word 'nil' meaning indigo, the colour of mourning, and being the name of the well-known river in Egypt (the Nile). Baghdad is divided into two by the river Tigris.

4 The original has "بمانده اند درون خسته پیش آن ز کشاد" a pun upon the word 'khasta', meaning 'wounded', and the stone in a fruit.

5 Huqqa-i-zar, literally box of gold.

6 Akhtari jallād, the planet Mars.

7 For a drop of ordinary water lacks the glitter and fiery gloss.

8 بچشم سوزنی صد گز بگنجد از بس لطف
درو بحیله خزد نوک سوزن پولاد

light that it looks as if one is wearing no dress at all but has only smeared the body with pure water. . . . The music is such that each stroke of the plectrum makes Venus cry with jealousy like her own harp. . . . . . If I depict its people on paper the pen of the master[1] would derive inspiration from my painting. Although they are of Hindui origin and so hellites, in point of beauty they are all heavenly and of houri descent.'[2]

Ulugh Khān, however, had to return back unsuccessful from Warangal due to the stout resistance of Laddardeo and also to a panic caused in his army by wild rumours about the death of his father spread by some mischief-mongers[3] in his camp, who were probably tired of fighting and wanted to go back to their homes. They were severely punished on Ulugh Khān's return to Delhi, and the prince after a few months started again for the fortress. It was soon reduced and Laddardeo with his wives and children fell into his hands and was sent to Delhi with elephants and other spoils captured by the royal army. Ulugh Khān named Warangal Sulṭānpur and settling the affairs in the south satisfactorily he returned to Delhi.

Tughlaq Shāh treated Khusrau very kindly and the poet was more prosperous in his reign than he had been before.[4] But the king was not on very good terms with Sheikh Niẓamuddīn. Almost the first thing he did after ascending the throne was to take strong measures to retrieve the large sums that Khusrau Khān had so lavishly distributed among the nobles and saints. The coffers filled by 'Alāuddīn had almost been emptied and the new king could not well proceed with the government of the country with an exhausted treasury. Most of the recipients handed back the money which they had kept as

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Cf. ازو بگذرد هم نه آبی نه چربی
نه چون قطرهٔ آب پیکان حربی

The cloth was called 'deogīr' or 'deogīrī' and Khusrau mentions it often, and mentions also its superiority to katān, the famous fine cloth.

که لطف دیو گیری از کتان به

1 Indefinitely any master, but it may refer to Mānī or Bihzād the famous painters.

2 Nihāyat-ul-Kamāl (B.M. MS., 25,807, fol. 459b). The ode is in praise of Ulugh Khān.

2 Among them was the poet 'Abīd who had come from Persia and delighted in hoodwinking and pooh-poohing Khusrau. He was buried alive in Delhi by order of the king. (Firishta, I, p. 131.) According to Barni (449) he was crucified alive. See also Badaoni, I, 222 seq,, who says he was trampled to death. According to Ibn Battūtah Ulugh Khān himself encouraged the spread of these rumours. The same view has been adopted by the editor of the Camb. Hist. of India, V. III. But there is no other evidence to show that.

4 Firishta, I, 132.

a trust, but Niẓāmuddīn Auliya had spent all he had got in feeding the poor darweshes and beggars that always crowded his monastery and, therefor,e could return nothing back.[1] This annoyed the king and he took a dislike for the saint that lasted till his death. The puritan monarch, moreover, looked askance at the rather convivial simā' gatherings[2] in the Sheikh's monastery and the rival and jealous sheikhs, seeing the king's aversion to such things, lost no time in painting the saint's character in the darkest hues. They represented to him that music was absolutely prohibited by the law and that it was the greatest heresy for a pious man to indulge in it. The king thereupon called Niẓāmuddīn Auliya one day to his presence and asked him to justify his conduct in the presence of divines and scholars. The saint carried himself bravely and successfully through the ordeal, and Tughlaq Shāh had to let him go free, although, probably, he was not quite satisfied with the saint's arguments.[3] He was, however, too sensible and generous to persecute a man of Niẓāmuddīn's reputed piety and sanctity and the Sheikh did not suffer any hardships during his reign.

Tughlaq Shāh had a great passion for building[4] and he commenced the foundation of a new city, and constructed a strong fortress in it that acquired the name of Tughlaq bād. The fortress that now lies in ruins must have been a magnificent structure when it was built. Khusrau says of it: 'Wonderful fortress that raises its head to the moon, for it has been exalted by the ghāzī king, Ghiyāthuddīn, the great monarch whose justice is the architect of the world and the faith. The fortress, named by the king Tughlaqābād, is a paradise for the world. Inside, it has a tank[5](?)......whose beauty gives and fosters life and whose sweet water is a fountain of joy. Outside the fortress there is a moat broad like the sea......In the midst of the fortress is a splendid palace whose brightness renders the crescent full moon. All its walls are painted with gleaming gold and are studded with iridescent gems. The cost of every gem that has been set on them is equal to the income and expenditure of a world.'[6]

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1 Firishta, II, 397. According to him the sum received by Niẓāmuddīn Auliya amounted to five lac tangahs.

2 Music parties, where songs of mystic love are recited.

3 Firishta, II, 397.

4 Tughlaq Shāh's reign, in fact, saw the evolution of a vigorous style in architecture unknown in India before that time. See Fergusson, ii, 215.

5 The reading in the MS. is doubtful.

6 Nihāyat-ul-Kamāl B.M. MS., 25,807, fol. 472 seq.). Cf. Ibni Battuta Defrémery, 1877, iii, p. 214), who says: 'In the fort was the big palace whose tiles were gilded, and when the sun rose they glittered brightly and flashed so that the eye could not rest on them'.

In 724 H.[1] Khusrau made his third and last journey to the eastern provinces of Lakhnauti and Oudh. Tughlaq Shāh, hearing of grave mismanagement in that part of the country and receiving numerous complaints from people there, started, with a strong army, from Delhi, leaving the capital in charge of his son, Ulugh Khān. Khusrau, as usual, accompanied him, and stayed there for some months while the king was busy in settling the provinces.

Nāṣiruddīn of Lakhnauti[2] came to Tirhat and offered his homage to the king. He was confirmed in his position and rank as the governor of Lakhnauti, but the governor of Sunārgaon, Bahādur Khān,[3] who had been refractory, was deposed and disgraced. The rajah of Tirhat was subjugated and the forest in that district cut down to prevent thieves and robbers finding shelter there. Then the king turned back towards Delhi. Some distance from Tughlaqābād he separated from the main army and proceeded with rapid marches in order to reach the capital as soon as possible. Little did he know that it was fate that was thus hastening him towards his death. Ulugh Khān, hearing of his father's hasty approach gave orders at once to decorate the city in his honour, but fearing that the arrangements for the reception would not be complete before the king's arrival, he erected a pavilion about three miles from the city in a place called Afghānpūr. The pavilion, built in the short space of two or three days was intended to shelter the king for just one night before his triumphal entry into Tughlaqābād. The prince greeted his royal father at Afghānpūr and entertained him in the pavilion. Food was set before him and his retinue but Ulugh Khān left the pavilion before the king had finished his meal in order to get ready the elephants which he had brought from Warangal and which he wanted to display to his father. Most of the nobles also rose up with the prince and the king was left with only a few companions. All at once the roof of the pavilion collapsed andthe king was buried beneath it with four or five others and expired before he could be extricated from the debris.

و بها القصر الاعظم الذى جعل قراميده مذهبة فاذا طلعت الشمس كان لها نور
عظيم و بصيص يمنع البصر ادامة النظر اليها *

1 In the last part of that year, for Firishta says : درشهور سنه الخ.

2 Firishta confuses him with Nāṣiruddīn Bughra Khān, the son of Balban, who was dead long before this. The text of the Riyāḍus-Salāṭīn is also misleading. According to the translator this Nāṣiruddīn was a grandson of Bughra Khān, and a brother of Bahādur Shāh. See also Camb. Hist. of India, iii, 132.

3 He was appointed governor of Bengal by 'Alāuddīn but became independent during the reign of Quṭbuddīn and assumed the title of Bahādur Shāh. See Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn (Bib. Ind. Text 89 and Trans., p. 90).

The mysterious fall of the pavilion has been the subject of a big controversy and many historians have cast the blame on Ulugh Khān who is alleged to have purposely made the pavilion for getting rid of his father.[1] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa even asserts that the prince showed culpable negligence in taking Tughlaq Shāh out of the ruins and delayed the operations of excavating. But there is no other evidence to prove the prince guilty of patricide. The contemporary historian, Barni, does not even hint at that, and one cannot help saying with Firishta that, unless one is ready to credit Ulugh Khān with supernatural powers, it was impossible for him to so arrange that the roof should fall just at a certain moment—just when he himself was safe out of the pavilion and the king was still in it. It is evident that the fatal event was an accident pure and simple and that the collapse of the roof was due to either faulty construction or to shock caused by a thunderbolt or the heavy tread of the numerous elephants being paraded about the pavilion. Still less credible is the story which ascribes the event to the pious anger of Niẓāmuddīn Auliya. It is said that Tughlaq Shāh, who had always been rather suspicious about him, had sent orders to the saint to leave the city before his arrival there back from Lakhnauti. As the king approached nearer, the saint's disciples requested him to depart from his monastery lest any harm might overtake him. 'It is a long way to Delhi yet', was the only reply they could get from him, and so the king met his death before he could reach the city.[2]

Apart from the improbability of such a bitter grudge being entertained by the king against the saint, the fact that the saint had been grievously ill months before he died[3] would make the story very unlikely. Seven months before his death, Niẓāmuddīn Auliya was confined to his bed with a painful malady. He was already ninety-five years old, and knew that the end was approaching. One day he called his old and faithful servant Iqbāl and asked him to distribute at once all the money and grain that arrived in the monastery among deserving

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1 See Badaoni, I, 225; Ibn Battūta (Defrémery), iii, p. 211 seq. According to the latter the pavilion, constructed mainly of wood, was so arranged that its roof could fall by the tread of elephants on a certain place about it, and was designed by Ahmed bin Ayas, a skilful geometrician and architect, who later got the title of Khwāja-i-Jahāh and became Muḥammad Tughlaq's favourite minister.

2 See Firishta, II, 398; and Badaoni, I, 225. 'Ḥanūz Dihlī dur ast' has, of course, become a proverbial phrase.

3 Ibn Battūta, in fact, asserts that the saint had died before the king's return to Delhi, and that Tughlaq Shāh was offended by Prince Junā Khān carrying his corpse on his shoulder. (*Vide* Defrémery, iii, 211.) But we know from more reliable sources that the saint died on 18 Rabī' II, while the king met his death by the fall of the pavilion in the month of Rabi' I, See Firishta, I, 132, and II, 398,etc. See also Prof. Habib (42 f. n.), who apparently accepts Ibn Battūta's version.

people, and not to keep back a single piece of money or a grain of corn. He then prepared himself for death and calling his favourite disciples to his beside bestowed on them robes and appointed them his successors in various parts of the country. His own 'khirqa', staff, prayer-carpet, rosary and wooden bowl, together with other relics inherited from Farīduddīn Ganj-i-Shakar, he gave to Maulānā Naṣīruddīn of Oudh, the Bright Lamp of Delhi, who thus succeeded his master in the metropolis. At sunset, the eighteenth of Rabī' II, the saint gave up the ghost.

His life had been one long struggle against poverty, against self and against sin, and his guidance led many a wandering sheep to the security of the fold, and even if we do not, as we cannot, believe in all the miracles ascribed to him by his enthusiastic admirers, we cannot help acknowledging his greatness. Prince Ulugh Khān himself carried his body on his shoulder on its journey to the grave[1] and for generations his tomb has been the place of pilgrimage for princes as well as beggars. Living, as he did, in an age full of sudden political changes, cruel murders, wars and intrigues, his name has often been associated with some of the events that occurred in his life-time and some uncritical historians have not hesitated in casting aspersions on his character. He has been described as an assassin and a head of the thugs—charges which are as groundless as mean. The fact is that his personality and career are the noblest things that catch our imagination in an age not lacking in nobility, chivalry and romance, in spite of all its internecine wars, political upheavals, intrigues and assassinations. While monarchs came and went and dynasties rose and fell, while ambitious princes fought and contested, conspired and planned, and while courtiers flattered and betrayed, the saint stuck to the duty which he had imposed upon himself and carried on his work of spiritual salvation calmly and quietly in his sequestered monastery at Ghiyāthpūr[2]:

'As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form
Swells from the vale and midway leaves the storm
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.'

Yet, as we have said above, the doors of his monastery were open to all and no one was turned off disappointed.[3] His disciples included men of all

1 So, at least, asserts Ibn Battūtah (*vide* Defrémery, iii, 211), although I am not inclined to place much reliance on his assertion, for he is hopelessly inaccurate in his narration of the historical events of this period.

2 The village is now called Niẓāmpūr after the saint but the old name Ghiyāthpūr still survives and has been given to a subdivision of the village. (See a Guide to Niẓāmuddīn, p. 3.)

3 Thus Amīr Ḥasan relates how wandering darweshes whom he calls 'jawālīq', used to frequent the monastery and how one of them once used very improper words before

creeds and classes, and what if some of them were thugs? That a class of people like the thugs should have respect and veneration for him does not necessarily mean that he was an accomplice or that he in any way encouraged them in their reprehensible conduct. Criminals and malefactors have always been notoriously superstitious and eager to atone for their crimes by some meritorious deed of piety—a candle lighted on some shrine, flowers strewn on a holy tomb-stone, veneration shown and homage paid to some saint or pīr. What if some of them respected Niẓāmuddīn Auliya or even if they made him presents out of the money they had acquired by foul and unlawful means? The Sheikh never questioned. He accepted their homage and their offerings just as he accepted the money given him by the ungrateful traitor, Khusrau Khān. Where is the harm if the money so acquired was spent on poor and needy persons? It was perhaps robbed from some fat and miserly merchant or a tyrannical landlord and was in any case lost to its owner. If a portion of it could be redeemed from the filchers and spent in a good cause no sane person should have any objection.

Niẓāmuddīn Auliya has also been accused of taking an active, and by no means glorious, part in some of the political events of his time, but such accusations made by irresponsible historians have no weight and can never be accepted as proofs of his guilt by any impartial student of history.

Khusrau, who, as we have seen above, was away in Oudh with the royal army while his master, the Sheikh, lay ill in Delhi, heard of his death only on his arrival in the capital. The sad news of the final and irrevocable separation after years of friendship and love broke the heart of the aged poet. He rent his garments, blackened his face and betook himself to the grave of the Sheikh. According to a pathetic old legend, he recited the following beautiful 'dohā' at the grave and fell down in a swoon:

Gori sowe sej par, mukh par dāre kes,
Chal Khusro ghar āpne, raīn bahī sab des.[1]

'The fair one lies on the couch with her black tresses scattered on her face: O Khusrau, come home now, for night has fallen all over the world.' 'My end is now not far off', he is said to have declared, 'for the Sheikh had told me that I would not survive him long'. And so it was, for he died only

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the Sheikh who listened patiently and was very kind to him. (*Vide* Fawāid-ul-Fuād B.M. MS., f. 26.)

1 Khusro Ki Hindi Kawitā (Benares, 1921), p. 4.

a few months after, on Friday night, the 29th of D̲hulqa'd, 725 H.,[1] and was buried at the foot of his master's grave. It is said Niẓāmuddīn Auliya had desired that he should be buried by his side. 'He is the keeper of my secrets,[2] and I shall not set foot in Paradise without him. If it were lawful, I should have instructed you to bury him in the same grave with me so that we two may always remain together.'[3] On Amīr K̲h̲usrau's death, then, his friends wanted to bury him beside his master under the cupola on the latter's grave, but an attendant of the tomb, a K̲h̲wājasarā,[4] objected, saying that the two graves would be confused by people and so the poet was laid to rest outside the cupola.[5] There he lies to this day and his grave has become a place of pilgrimage almost as important as that of his sheik̲h̲, so that he could say in the words of another immortal bard, Ḥāfiz:

> Bar sar-i-turbat-i-mā chūn guzarī himmat k̲h̲wāh,
> Ki ziyāratgah-i-rindān-i-jahān k̲h̲wāhad būd.[6]

He had seen many changes and revolutions in his life-time and from his grave he has seen many more. The old Delhi is now a wilderness of ruins, the Red Palace, the Green Pavilion, the Palace of a thousand pillars, and the New Palace, the scenes of his poetic successes are 'one with Nineveh and Tyre', and can hardly be traced in the tangle of ruins that stretches for miles outside Delhi—the new Delhi of Sh hjahān. The strong citadel of Tug̲h̲laq is still there, grand and defiant, but one looks in vain in it for the crystal springs and the golden walls. The saint and his beloved disciple, however, sleep in peace in their sanctuary. There is still a green cover over their graves, still fresh flowers are strewn on them and still the lamp lights the darkness and attracts the moths, and still the qawwāls sing and recite g̲h̲azals of divine love at their shrines, while tombs of mighty kings like 'Alāuddīn have disappeared or are but mounds of decaying bricks and plaster. Whether they will rise together and enter Paradise hand in hand on the day of Judgment, nobody can

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1 Firishta, II, 403; but the more reliable date, perhaps, is 18th of Shawwāl, because the 'urs is held on this date. See Safīnatul-Auliya, p. 100, and Ḥayāt-i-K̲h̲usrau.

2 Sahib-i-asrār, meaning a confidant, a secretary.

3 Two bodies should not be buried in the same grave, according to the Islamic law.

4 Appointed apparently by Muḥammad Tug̲h̲laq. A K̲h̲wajasara is generally a eunuch. According to the author of T̲h̲amaratul Quds, he was a member of some noble family and wanted to be buried beside the Sheik̲h̲ himself. See: A Guide to Niẓāmuddīn by Ẓafar Ḥasan, p. 22.

5 The enclosure containing the poet's tomb is beyond the south wall of the Sheik̲h̲'s tomb.

6 'As you pass by my grave, seek blessing therefrom, for it will become the place of pilgrimage for all the drunkards (i.e. sufis) of the world.'

foresee, but certainly they have passed into immortality together and their names shall ever be linked together in the memory of succeeding generations.[1]

Strangely enough no building is known to have been erected on the grave of Khusrau till the time of Baber, when Mahdī Khwāja[2] erected an enclosing wall and a marble tablet bearing a chronogram inscription composed by Shihāb Mu'ammāi, whom Firishta calls his teacher.[3] Perhaps this was due to the poet's own wish, or it is possible that the earlier structure was entirely removed and replaced by the present one. The inscription runs as follows:

'There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is his Apostle.'

The earth was exalted by the erection of this tablet in the reign of Baber, the ghazī emperor.

'Mīr (Amir) Khusrau, the king of poesy's realm; that ocean of accomplishment and sea of perfection;

His prose was more pleasant than flowing water and his poetry purer than sweet, limpid waters;

The matchless nightingale of melodious songs and the peerless parrot of sweet speech;

When I placed my thoughtful head on my knee in order to compose a chronogram on his death, two chronograms occurred to me: 'The peerless' and 'The Parrot of Sweet Speech'.

'The tablet on my dust is innocent of any talk of union with the beloved: my innocent ways prove sufficiently the purity of my love.'

'Mahdī Khwāja, the great and glorious Sayyid is verily the founder of this structure. When they asked me the date of erection, I said: The praiseworthy effort of Mahdī Khwāja.'

'Written by Shihāb Al-Mu'ammāi of Herat.'

In the year 938 H. (1531-2 A.D.), during the reign of Humāyūn an inner enclosure was built and paved with marble, and a marble tomb-stone was

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1 The anniversary (urs) of the saint is celebrated with great pomp and splendour at his shrine on the 17th and 18th of Rabī' II, while an equally grand ceremony is held at the tomb of the poet on the 17th and 18th of Shawwāl. The two tombs are looked after by the descendants of the saint's sister who are called 'pīrzādas'.

2 See : A Guide to Nizāmuddīn, p. 22. Mahdī Khwāja, son of Mūsā Khwāja and husband of Baber's sister Khānzādeh, was an important noble of Baber's court. (*Vide* Beveridge Babur Namah, Vol. II, p. 704 and Humāyūn Namah, p. 298 seq.: Appendix B.)

3 Shihab al-Mu'ammāi, as his pen-name suggests, was specially skilled in composing chronograms. He came to India with Khond-Mīr from Hirat in 933 H., and was presented to Baber in Agra. He died in 942 H. (1535 A.D.). See Baburnameh, II, 603 and 683.

placed over the grave. Inscriptions of this emperor are found on the north and west walls of the enclosure. Again in the year 969 H. (1561 A.D.) Shihābuddīn Aḥmed Khān, a noble of the time of Akbar erected a dome with latticed walls of red sandstone over the grave. The present tomb,[1] however, was built during the reign of Jahāngīr in the year 1014 H. (1605-6 A.D.) by Khwāja 'Imāduddīn Ḥasan. Inscriptions of the founder and of Jahāngīr are found on the top of the four walls[2] and on a marble tablet fixed on the northern wall respectively.

In 1280 H. (1663-4 A.D.) a pair of copper-plated door-leaves was presented by one Miānjān bearing an inscriptionin Urdu and in 1303 H. (1886 A.D.) Muḥyiddīn Kh n of Hyderabad erected a pierced marble balustrade round the grave bearing his name and the date.

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1 M. Zafar Hasan describes the present tomb thus : 'The tomb of Amīr Khusrau lies in a small enclosure 28′ 6″ by 20′ 7″, surrounded by red sandstone walls of lattice work. The enclosure paved with marble is entered through a door-way on the south, where it is partly roofed with stone slabs. The tomb-chamber, which is oblong in plan, measures 16′ 2″ by 12′ 6″ externally, and is constructed of marble. It is covered by a vaulted roof supported on 12 pillars and crowned by two 'guldastas', one at either end on the north and south. The space between these pillars is closed by latticed screens, the central bay on the south being open and serving as an entrance to the tomb. Outside the tomb chamber to the north stands an inscribed marble slab 7′ 11″ by 1′ 6½″ set up during the reign of the emperor Baber, while on the south lies an uninscribed and unplastered grave said to be that of Shamsuddin Mahru, the son of Amīr Khusrau's sister. The marble grave of Khusrau in the centre of the building is enclosed by a marble balustrade. It is ever kept covered by a pall and a cotton canopy hangs over it tied with ropes to the four corners of the chamber.'

2 Two of these inscriptions consist of verses by Khusrau himself about the saint. Thus one is :

ای شربت عاشقی بجامت   وز دوست زمان زمان پیامت
شد سلک فرید از تو منظوم   زانست که شد لقب نظامت
جاوید بقاست بنده خسرو   چون شد بهزار جان غلامت

and the other, containing a riddle concealing the poet's name, Khusrau, is :

مرا نام نیکو ست و خواجه عظیم   دو شین و دو لام و دو قاف و دو جیم
اگر نام یابی تو زین حرفها   بدانم که هستی تو مرد فهیم

2 shīns = 2 × 300 = 600 = Khe
2 lāms = 2 × 30 = 60 = Sīn
2 qāfs = 2 × 100 = 200 = Re
2 jīms = 2 × 3 = 6 = Wāw

CHAPTER IV.

THE WORKS.

Amir Khusrau was one of those few lucky authors who live long enough to see their fame spread far and wide, to have the satisfaction of their worth being recognized by their contemporaries and to be able to visualize the prospect of an ever increasing popularity and renown down in the depths of time among generations and nations yet unborn. He had, moreover, the good fortune of being able to collect and arrange most of his works during his life-time. This was by no means an easy task, for the poet, a prolific writer, had hardly any leisure for the troublesome task of piecing together scattered odds and ends of poetry that came so profusely and rapidly from his lips that the pen could scarcely keep pace with their swift flow. He had, besides, other duties to perform. As an officer and courtier he had to be a regular attendant at the courts of his patrons some of whom, caring little, perhaps, for poetry, were quite hard task-masters. Yet with an extraordinary genius for poetry Khusrau combined an almost supernatural energy and an indefatigable capacity for work, and he did the work of editing his own compositions with a thoroughness and care that cannot but excite our admiration. All his five dīwāns are preceded by prefaces and introductions, which, in some cases are very long and full, and most of his qaṣāid are headed by verses descriptive of their contents. He also gives the number of the qasaid in each of his diwans as well as that of the fragments and the dates when they were composed. His mathnawīs too are all accompanied by a full description of the occasions on which they were composed, their dates, names and the number of verses in each of them. The poet, in fact, himself an artist, had very definite views as to not only how a book should be edited, but how it should be transcribed, and in the I'jāz-i-Khusrawī he gives some interesting instructions[1] for the guidance of scribes.

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1 I'jāz-i-Khusrawē, V. I, R.I., 80—82. Thus he says that the scribe, who must be well-paid, should compare his copy with the original three times for 'a correct writing is the light of the eye but its reverse is darkness though it may have been done with the black pupil of the eye'. He must employ two inks, red and black, the red to be used for distinguishing the different subjects, chapters, and divisions of the book. He should, moreover, employ a third ink of a colour other than red and black to mark some words or phrases of special import or interest. Dots and vowel marks should be carefully given and in the case of Arabic phrases a commentary may also be added to clear the sense. In conclusion he says :

خذ ما كتبت بجد لو تريد ترى   سحرا حلالا على القرطاس بالقلم

Amīr Khusrau was also helped by his friend, Tājuddīn Zāhid, and some other friends in this stupendous task. His friend, Zāhid, indeed, first induced him to arrange and edit the poems of his earliest years and seems to have assisted the poet in his later compilations also. Another friend, 'Alāuddīn 'Alī Shāh, who like Zāhid appears to have been on very intimate terms with Khusrau for he is often referred to by the poet as 'my brother',[1] and who was a scribe of great merit, undertook to transcribe his works, while some other friends, notably Shihābuddīn,[2] carefully revised the compilations before Khusrau presented them in their final form to the public, and Khusrau has duly expressed his gratitude to all of them in the course of his writings.[3]

Yet in spite of all this care and labour it is likely that Amīr Khusrau could not arrange all his works before his death. Perhaps, he had no time and also, perchance, no inclination to do so, for a man of his character would attach no great value to stray compositions on the manifold subjects that his versatile mind turned to from time to time. It is more likely, again, that some of his works which existed in collected and arranged forms in his time have since been lost, so that there is a strong reason to presume that the works of Amīr Khusrau that are known to us to-day are by no means complete and that some of his productions have been irretrievably lost. But what is the probable extent of this loss? We shall try to discuss this question briefly here.

There is a considerable amount of discrepancy among various versions given by biographers as to the number and volume of Khusrau's works. The contemporary historian, Barni, is vague on this point. According to Jāmī, one of the oldest authorities on the subject, the number of his works was ninety-nine[4] and he has been followed by other biographers.[5] Daulat Shāh asserts that Amīr Khusrau himself has said in the course of his writings that his verses amount to less than five but more than four hundred thousand

1 From this fact and the similarity of the two names 'Alāuddīn has been confused with 'Izzuddīn by some biographers. See Shibli, II, 123; Rieu, II, 609 seq. (Re Ghurra), etc.

2 For Shihābuddīn see infra.

3 Khusrau's idea of how a dīwān should be arranged can be seen in an ornate passage in the preface to the Baqīya Naqīya (I.O. MS., 1187, fol. 324). According to him it should consist of a prose preface, odes (qaṣāid), tarji'āt, mathnawis, rubā'īs, and certain fragments of harmless satire and pleasantry.

4 See Nafaḥāt-ul-Uns, p. 710. Barni says 'he has written a whole library (کتابخانهٔ) in poetry and prose'.

5 See, for instance, Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm, M.B. MS., Add 27,319, f. 262 (در نظم و نثر پارسی نود و نه کتاب تصنیف کرده); Sprenger's Cat. of Oudh MSS., V. I, 465 seq.; Atashkadah (Bombay, 1860, under Delhi), etc. According to Muḥammad b. Mubārak a library was filled with the books written by him. (Siyarul Auliyā, pp. 301—5.)

verses,[1] and Amīn Rāzī, in his Haft Iqlīm gives the number of his works as one hundred and ninety-nine. Yet curiously enough none of these biographers gives a list of these works and if they do, the number does not exceed by any great extent the number of works that are known to us to-day. Regarding the assertion made by Daulat Shāh and Firishta about the number of Khusrau's verses, I am not inclined to attach any importance to it. In the first place, in spite of a careful study of all his works, I have failed to discover that statement anywhere. Secondly, even supposing Khusrau does make that statement, it is not clear what is meant by the term 'bait', which can be interpreted, as Shibli points out, both in the sense of a couplet as well as a hemistich, and in the latter case the volume of Khusrau's poetry would not be anything very stupendous or extraordinary. Lastly, such a statement by the poet, made presumably some time before his death, cannot be the last word on the extent of his works for we know that he continued writing poetry right up to his last days, and an exact estimate of an author's works can only be made by a second person after his death. Was any attempt made immediately after the poet's demise to collect or arrange his works?

Among the earliest records, we find only two references to any serious endeavour being made in this direction. According to Daulat Shāh, Mirza Bāysunghar[2] once tried to collect the poet's verses, and after great trouble and effort secured one hundred and twenty thousand verses. But he was informed afterwards of the existence of another two thousand verses not included in any of the dīwāns, and so realizing the impossibility of securing all the verses composed by the poet, Bāysunghar gave up the idea. Then we learn that a poet called Saifī collected and edited Amīr Khusrau's works and a preface by him is appended to a manuscript of the Kulliyāt now in the St. Petersburg library. But we have no idea about the exact date of Saifī or of the scope and value of the work done by him.[3]

The fact that very little of the literature of the so-called 'Pathan' period has come down to us, denotes a deplorable lack of enthusiasm for letters among the later Turkish kings and possibly also an equally deplorable apathy on the

1 Daulat Shāh, 240; see also Majālisul 'Ushshāq of Sultan Ḥusain Mīrza (Lucknow, A.H. 1314, pp. 130—2).

2 Mirza Bāysunghar, the son of Sultan Maḥmūd Mirza and the grandson of Sultan Abū Sa'īd Mirza, was a contemporary of Baber by whom he was driven from Samarqand in A.H. 903. He later occupied Hiṣār but in A.H. 905 he was treacherously murdered by Khusrau Shāh, an Amīr of his father's court. Like Sultan Ḥusain Mirza, he was a great patron of letters. See Rieu 526; Erskine: Hist. of Ind., pp. 92, 142 and Memoirs of Baber, 33 and 72; Daulat Shāh: 240. See also note on following page.

3 He is evidently Saifī of Bukhara, surnamed 'Arūḍī on account of his proficiency in Persian prosody. He lived for some time in Herat in the reign of Sultan Ḥusain Mirza under the patronage of Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawaī. He subsequently remained for three years at Samarqand as preceptor to Bāysunghar Mirza and it is probable that it was during this

part of the early Moghuls. One wonders what became of all the wonderful products of great scholars that, for instance, adorned the reign of 'Alāuddīn. Barni and Firishta give long lists of savants living in that age whose activity embraced all branches of knowledge and who wrote both in Persian as well as Arabic. There were jurists, theologians, philosophers, historians, physicians, musicians, writers and poets of great merit and wide renown that had helped to make Delhi, for a time, actually the literary centre of the Islamic world, if not the religious centre, or Dārul-Khilāfa as its pretentious rulers and their flattering sycophants claimed it to be. Accordint to Khusrau himself every stone in Delhi concealed a gem of literary brilliance[1] and there were scholars and poets whose Arabic verses could shame Imru-al-Qais and restore to life Ibnī Jinni.[2] 'Behold', he says elsewhere, 'what an atmosphere surrounds our land for its air is full of the songs of birds. Artists, poets and singers spring like grass from its dust. There have been good poets and fine singers before this age, no doubt, whose imagination was keen and who knew the subtle points of their art, but the ideas that blossom forth now, rarely appeared in other ages. Each of these poets and singers has a unique style peculiar to himself. The least of them all is humble Khusrau.'[3]

Many of the poets mentioned are said to have been 'ṣāhib-i-dīwān', that is, they had already collected and arranged their verses. One of them, Shihābuddīn,[4] who is specially admired by Khusrau and described as a great scholar of Arabic, was consulted on several occasions by the poet. Yet, to-day we not only do not possess any work by him, but also find it difficult to establish his identity.[5] In fact, leaving aside other sciences, the poetry of that

time that he, at the instance of Bāysunghar Mirza, undertook the task of editing Khusrau's works, but he apparently could not finish it. He died probably in 909 A.H. See Rieu 52; Baber Nāmah (Beveridge), 288; Ḥabībus Siyar, iii, part 3, 3, p. 593.

1 Dībācha of Wasṭ-ul-Ḥayāt.

2 Dībācha of Ghurra.

3 Nuh Sipihr (Sipihr IX).

4 It would appear from Khusrau's remarks about him that he never collected his poems. 'If', says Khusrau, 'he had the leisure to collect his dīwān......etc.

5 Little is known about this Shihāb of whom Khusrau speaks so highly in the concluding portions of his *Hasht Bihisht* and *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī*. Barnī mentions a Shihāb-i-Ṣadr Nashīn among the poets and scholars of 'Alā'uddīn Khalji's court, but supplies no particulars. I am inclined to identify him with maulānā Shihābuddīn, son of Shaikh Farīd uddīn Ganj-i-Shakar, who according to the *Akhbār al-Akhyar* (P. 70) "was adorned with abundance of knowledge and excellent accomplishments". A possible alternative may be Ḥusaīn Muḥammad Shāh Anṣārī Nicknamed Shihāb, a poet and scholar of 'Alā'uddīn Khaljī's time and the author of a work on rhetorics, entitled *Kanz-al-Fawā'id* which has been recently edited by Mr. A.S. Usha 'and published by the Madras University (Islamic Series, No. 18, 1956). In a significant sentence in the *I'jāz*, Khusrau says:

و بنده نیز چون ریزه چین موائد فواید ایشانست الخ

alluding possibly to the *Kanzal-Fawā'id*.

period is now known to us almost only through the works of Khusrau and his brilliant contemporary Ḥasan, and it is fortunate that these works, according to contemporary and subsequent testimony, represent the best form of it.

When so much, then, of the literature—in fact the bulk of it—of those days has entirely been lost, one may reasonably presume that whatever has been preserved is also not complete; that the works of Khusrau that exist to-day, are by no means all that he produced. Yet at the same time, it is very doubtful if he ever produced as many as ninety-nine works. There is a limit to human industry and literary prolixity. Khusrau, we admit, wrote with a rapidity and ease that is really extraordinary and he continued writing throughout his long life, but still one should think that the works we now possess are quite a respectable monument, both in quality and quantity, of a life of literary labours even like those of Khusrau's, especially when we remember that the poet had so many other occupations and diversions. Khusrau, moreover, in several places in his writings, specifies his works, which can be roughly classified as poetical and prose. Of the former, we know definitely the number of qaṣāid and fragments[1] in each of the five dīwāns, for Khusrau gives the number usually in the preface or at the conclusion. In the mathnawīs too we can verify the number of verses the poet composed as here again the poet supplies the necessary information. Now, most of the manuscript copies of these works have preserved with tolerable accuracy the contents outlined by Khusrau and may be said to be complete. The only part of his poetry where we cannot be so sure of a complete preservation are the ghazaliyāt,[2] for it is a pity that Khusrau did not attach much importance to those sweet lyrics that have, more than anything else, won him the title of the 'Parrot of India', and consequently never took the trouble of arranging them and it was left to the will and fancy of subsequent students to prepare compilations and collections of varying lengths under different names. 'I have', he says, 'composed many a fresh ghazal, but I did not include them (in this dīwān) as a ghazal is but of seven or nine verses and anyone who can scrawl seven or nine verses would strut like a refractory camel and try to compete and vie with me, though I am the king of poetry'.[3] It is possible then, that some of these poems were lost, but at the same time, it is also possible that some of them, now ascribed to Khusrau, never belonged to him.[1] On the whole, we may safely conclude

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1 Muqaṭṭa'āt ; short fragmentary poems on diverse topics.

2 The collections of ghazals found in the I.O. and B.M. manuscripts of Kulliyāt under the heading 'Kitāb-ul-ghazaliyāt' are more or less identical in contents which would suggest that they were collected and arranged by some one at some period after the poet's death. The fact that the collection is not preceded by any introduction by the poet shows that Khusrau himself did not arrange them.

3 Dībācha of Ghurra.

that the bulk of these poems has also been preserved. The only poetical work which is mentioned by reliable authorities to have been composed by Khusrau and which we do not possess to-day is the Tughlaq Nāmah, the history of the reign of Ghiyāthuddīn Tughlaqshāh. But as that monarch reigned for only about three years, the loss of the Tughlaq Nāmah, is perhapsr not so great after all historically, while from a literary point of view, the mathnawī, its language and style, could not be very different from those of his other mathnawīs, the Nuh Sipihr, for instance, which he wrote in the reign of Mubārak Shāh, the immediate predecessor of Tughlaq Shāh.[2]

Regarding his prose works, again, we know from the preface of the I'jāz-i-Khusrawī that Khusrau had not written anything in prose before that. He had, of course, written letters and epistles, which he has collected together in that book, but he had produced no connected work in prose. We know also that the poet had no special liking, and also no special aptitude for this branch of literature and therefore it seems extremely unlikely that Khusrau could have composed much more than that stupendous work, I'jāz-i-Khusrawī, and the two smaller works Tārīkh-i-'Alāi or Khazāin-ul-futūḥ and Afḍāl-ul-fawāid in the short space of about fifteen years.

The only other subject, perhaps, to which Khusrau could be expected to have turned his prolific pen is music, and one is easily induced to believe that he wrote, as some biographers assert, a treatise on that fascinating science.[3] If he did really write such a treatise, it is very unfortunate that it has not come down to us, for a book on that subject would have supplied very valuable information on the development of Indian music especially in the transition period that commenced in those days by the fusion of Persian and Indian

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1 Thus a beautiful poem, ascribed to 'Ubaid Zākānī in B.M. MS. Or., 6303 (*vide* Browne : Pers. under Tartar Dom., p. 235) and beginning as

افتاد بازم درسر هوائی   دل باز دارد میلی بجائی

is found also in two MSS. of Khusrau's works (B.M., No. Add. 21,104 f. 861 and No. 25,807); and the last verse containing the poet's name is given thus :

گر چشم خسرو سیرش نه بیند   دیگر نه بیند چشمش ضیائی

while Browne gives it as چشم عبید ار سیرش نه بیند   دیگر نه بیند چشمش بلائی

The words سلطان حسنی are changed to 'Sultan-i-Husni' in the former.

2 According to Ḥāji Khalīfa (Flügel, II, 321) the poem contained three thousand baits. See Appendix.

3 Thus Khushgo: 'and wrote some treatises (رسالہ) on the science of Isīfa (Istīfa ?); and music',

systems which, according to tradition, Khusrau did much to bring about. But here again we can be sure that the poet's writings, if any, did not amount to any big or monumental work. In an interesting fragment descriptive of the poet's contest with a musician regarding the comparative excellence of the two sciences, poetry and music, he says: 'I told him (the musician) that I was perfect in both the sciences and had practised both in the proper way; that I had written three volumes (daftars) in poetry and if I were to write on music I could have composed three volumes on that science too'.[1]

This proving as it does the poet's proficiency in music, shows incidentally also that he did not compose at least any comprehensive work on that science.

If, therefore, we leave aside Khusrau's work in Hindi poetry which we propose to discuss in a separate chapter, we are inclined to surmise that the bulk of his writings both in poetry and prose have been preserved and have been transmitted to us through succeeding generations without any serious damage or decrease. But how to explain the persistent and old tradition of more than ninety works? I think here we have a common instance of popular exaggeration to deal with. There is a general tendency to ascribe to great men things that never belonged to them and to exaggerate their exploits. We can imagine this tendency in a very marked degree in the case of Khusrau, who was, perhaps, the most popular poet of India and whose name is known even to the mischievous urchins of Delhi, playing marbles in some narrow alley beside a dirty gutter even to-day, about seven centuries after his death! We know, for instance, that some of the existing works said to be Khusrau's are definitely not his. Such is the Story of the Four Darweshes, which, in spite of clear internal evidence to the contrary, has been persistently ascirbed to Khusrau by even literary men like Mīr Amman, its translator. Such are again a poem called Shāhnāma-i-Khusrawī and another known as Inshā-i-Khusrau of both of which we shall speak later on.

Then certain poems of Khusrau's have been mentioned under different names by various authors and so one book with three names, like the 'Ashīqa,[2] for instance, may easily be counted three by an unscrupulous biographer. Again certain longer poems from his five dīwāns, such as Bahrul 'Ibar, or Faras

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1 Ghurra :

نظم را کردم سه دفتر ور به تحریر آمدی علم موسیقی سه دیگر بود ار باور بود

(B.M. MS., No. 21,104, f. 314 and I.O. MS., No. 1187.)

2 This work has been known under the names of 'Ashīqa, 'Ishqiyya, Qiṣṣa-i-Dewal-rānī-o-Khiḍr Khān, Nuskhā-i-Khiḍr Khān, Āghāz-i-'Ishq and Manshur Shāhī. (See Prolegomena : Ishāq Khān, p. 14.)

Nāmah, or even certain portions of his mathnawīs have been enumerated by certain biographers as independent works. There are, moreover, numerous collections, as we have said above, of his ghazalyāt, made by various persons from time to time, varying in extent and contents and going under different titles that may be taken as separate books by any uncritical student.

It is also quite likely that Khusrau wrote occasional tracts on all sorts of topics, on music and musical instruments, on chess or back-gammon, on poetical niceties and artifices, and the like and that these treatises were counted with his other works to complete the tale of ninety and nine. But that these treatises were numerous or very valuable I am not quite prepared to believe, and cannot agree with the late Nawab Ishaq Khān in thinking that the 'greater part of his works is now irretrievably lost'. I think, on the other hand, for reasons already given, that whereas we have lost most of the literary productions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the great fame of Amīr Khusrau, his pre-eminent skill, and the odour of sanctity that has always clung to his memory, have worked together to save the best and most important part of his Persian works from the sad fate that overtook the works of his less fortunate and less gifted contemporaries.[1]

That Khusrau wrote anything in Arabic, other than some small poems or single verses scattered through his works is extremely unlikely. He admits himself his incompetence in that language and writing at the age of forty declares that he could have, if he had found leisure, acquired as great a mastery over that language as over Persian, but that it was too late then to 'see such idle dreams'. We can, thus, safely dismiss as untenable any theories regarding his works in Arabic and reject as a myth the absurd story that he translated the Gulistān of Sa'dī into Arabic.[2] He was too sensible to do that and could utilize his time much better.

After these introductory remarks, I now turn to a consideration of Khusrau's works that exist to-day in their more or less complete forms in the various libraries in Europe, India and Egypt.

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1 To these, of course, we must add another important factor already enumerated, namely Khusrau's own industry in collecting them and his jealous care of their contents. How anxious the poet was concerning the preservation of his works may be seen by what he says at the conclusion of one of his dīwāns (Wasṭ-ul-Ḥayāt : I.O. MS., 1187).

شعر این دیوان همه پنجاه و هشت است در شمار
هر که آنرا کم کند یا رب که کم بادش بقا

'The poems of this dīwān are altogether fifty-eight ; may not he who decreases this number live long! '

2 See 'Prolegomena : Nawab Ishāq Khān (Delhi, 1917), p. 20.

In 1915, the late Nawab Ishāq Khān, at the instance of Nawab 'Imādul Mulk Maulvi Syed Ḥusain Bilgrāmī, formed the ambitious project of editing and publishing the complete works of Khusrau, and with this end in view the Nawab made a thorough study of the various catalogues of European, Indian, and Egyptian libraries. Not content with this, and believing that a large number of the poet's works—the better half in fact of the mythical tale of ninety-nine, was still missing he made a wide and patient search throughout India for discovering any works still unknown and lying concealed in the mouldy shelves of some rickety library. But with all his industry and zeal he could trace only 45 (forty-five) works, viz. (1) Tuḥfatus-Ṣighar, (2) Wasṭ-ul-Ḥayāt, (3) Dībācha-i-Ghurrat-ul-Kāmal, (4) Dīwān Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl, (5) Baqīya Naqīya, (6) Maṭla'-ul-Anwār, (7) Shirin-o-Khusrau, (8) Majnun-o-Leylā, (9) Hasht Bihisht, (10) Āina-i-Sikandarī, (11) Qirān-us-Sa'dain, (12) Khiḍr Khāni or 'Ishqīa ('Ashqīa), (13) Nuh Sipihr, (14) Miftāḥ-ul-futūḥ, (15) Collected Mathnawiyyāt, (16) Collected Rubāiyāt, (17) Collected poems, (18) Qaṣīda-i-Amīr Khusrau, containing the story of Firdausi's Shah Nāma, (19) I'jāzi-i-Khusravī, (20) Inshā-i-Khusrau, (21) Ahwāl-i-Amīr Khusrau, (22) Nihāyat-ul-Kamāl, (23) Khazāin-ul-futūḥ, (24) Niṣāb Badī'-ul-Ajāib and niṣāb-i-muthallath, (25) Afḍal-ul-fawāid, (26) Khāliq Bārī, (27) Qissa-i-Chahār Darwesh Fārsī, (28) Bāznāmah, (29) Asp Nāmah or Faras Nāmah, (30) Baḥrul 'Ibar, (31) Mirāt-us-Ṣafā, (32) Shahr Ashūb or collected Rubāiyāt, (33) Tughlaq Nāmah, (34) Taj-ul-futūḥ, (35) Tārikh-i-Dihlī, (36) Manāqib-i-Hind, (37) Hālāt-i-Kanhya-wa-Krishn, (38) Maktūbat-i-Amīr Khusrau, (39) Jawāhir-ul-Baḥr, (40) Maqāla (history of the Khalifs), (41) Rāḥat-ul-Muḥibbīn, (42) Risala-i-Abyāt-i-Baḥth (Khusrau and Jām), (43) Shigarf Bayān, (44) Tarāna-i-Hindī, (45) Munajāt-i-Khusrau.

The Nawab after giving this list, remarks: 'The Bāznama, AspNama, Bahrul 'Ibar, Mir'at-us-Ṣafa included in the above list are names of particular mathnavis and qaṣidas which form portions of Amir Khusrau's diwans. A manuscript copy of Shahr-Ashūb was obtained from Lucknow...... Regarding the Tughlaq Nāma nothing has so far been learnt beyond the fact that Mir Mehdi Hasan Majrūh of Delhi had a manuscript copy of this book. With regard to the remainder of the works included in the above list, we have not hitherto been able to discover even the trace of their existence in this country.'[1] This eliminates sixteen of the eighteen works beginning from

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1 Page 28 of the Prolegomena. By the above list he means the books from No. 28 to No. 45, both inclusive. My esteemed friend Mr. Zubaid Ahmed has, however, pointed out to me a MS. in the Tippoo Sultan's Library (Cat. Stewart, 1809, p. 26) with the title Maqālāt-i-Amīr Khusrau: memoirs of the first four Khalifs......with a treatise on sufi tenets, which is evidently the same work as No. 40 of the above list.

No. 28, and we are left with only twenty-nine works. Of these twenty-nine, again, as we shall see, Nos. 3 and 4 are really one work, while Nos. 15, 16, and 17 are evidently selections from the works of Amīr Khusrau and form no independent works; Nos. 18 and 20 as well as No. 27 do not certainly belong to Khusrau, while No. 26 is of doubtful origin. Thus there are only twenty-one works which may definitely be described as independent works by Khusrau and which are, with the exception of one, available to-day. All of these works, with the exception of Niṣāb Bad 'ul-'Ajāib and Niṣāb Muthallath, and Shahr-Ashūb are found in the library of the British Museum, and most of them exist also in the India Office library, and I now start to give a detailed account of these works. For convenience and lucidity I propose to study the works under the following heads and in the order given in the list below:

A. The five dīwāns: (1) Tufḥat-us-Ṣighar, (2) Wasṭ-ul-ḥayāt, (3) Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl, (4) Baqīya Naqīya, (5) Nihāyat-ul-Kamāl.

B. The historical poems: (6) Qirān-us-Sa'dain, (7) Miftāḥ-ul-futūḥ, (8) 'Ashīqa, (9) Nuh Sipihr, (10) Tughlaq Nāmah.

C. The Khamsa: (11) Maṭla'-ul-Anwār, (12) Shīrīn-o-Khusrau, (13) Āina-i-Sikandarī, (14) Hasht Bihisht, (15) Majnūn-o-Leylā.

D. The Ghazaliyāt: (16) The Lyrical poems of Khusrau.

E. Prose Works: (17) Tārīkh-i-'Alāi or Khazāin-ul-futūḥ, (18) Afḍal-ul-fawāid, (19) I'jāz-i-Khusrawī.

F. Hindi Poetry: (20) The Khāliq Bārī and other Hindi poems ascribed to Khusrau.

Before proceeding any further, however, I shall give briefly my reasons for rejecting certain works ascribed to Khusrau either on account of popular belief or through an oversight on the part of cataloguers. I shall, of course, leave out all such works which do not exist to-day and of which the names alone can be traced in old biographies or in popular legends, and consider only such works as are available and can be examined, and of these latter there are three.[1] (1) The Qiṣṣa-i-Chahār Darwesh, (2) Inshā-i-Amīr Khusrau (No. 1221 of the India Office Cat. of Persian Mss. described as an introduction to his work I'jāz-i-Khusrawī), and (3) The Ode of Amīr Khusrau containing the History of the Shāh Nāma of Firdausi: (Ind. Off. MS., No. 1195).

(1) *The Tale of the Four Darweshes.*—Mīr Amman in the preface to his translation of this book says that the tale was written by Amīr Khusrau during a long illness of Sheikh Niẓāmuddīn Auliya, and that he used to relate the story

1 I do not include Khāliq Bārī in this category for I propose to discuss this work separately and also because the book may or may not be Khusrau's. For an account of some other works erroneously ascribed to Khusrau see the Prolegomena, p. 15, seq.

to him, till he recovered and blessed the author as well as the book, whence it has acquired its peculiar popularity.[1]

Apart from the improbability of such an incident being the occasion of its composition and the absurdity of the whole idea, the work certainly cannot belong to Khusrau for the following reasons:—

1. The style of the prose in the book is quite different from that of Amīr Khusrau's and belongs probably to a much later date.

2. Verses are very few—an unusual thing for Khusrau—and none of them belongs to him, while Khusrau always employed his own verses to adorn his prose.

3. Many words and expressions employed have never been used by Khusrau or his contemporaries.[2]

4. Several terms used clearly belong to a later period.[3]

5. The writer knew a good deal more about the 'farangis' (the Europeans) than Khusrau could have known.[4]

6. He mentions several articles and things unknown in India in Khusrau's time.[5]

7. Lastly, the author betrays a marked propensity for the Shī'a doctrine which we cannot imagine Khusrau[6] to have possessed.

The writer, whoever he was, lived, I think, in the early Moghul period, probably during the reign of Jahāngīr or Shāh Jahān.

(2) *Inshā-i-Khusrawī.*—This is the title of a small collection of letters in ornate prose (83ff. or 166 pages[7] in all. I.O. MS., No. 1221) which has been described in the India Office Catalogue (Col. 707) to be a work of Khusrau, but the most cursory perusal of the work is enough to convince one that it has nothing to do with the poet. In fact, it was written by one Abdul Bāqī

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1 *Vide* Forbes: Bāgh-o-Bahār of Mīr Amman of Dihlī, London, 1882, p. 6. The saint is said to have declared : 'Whoever will hear this tale, will, with the blessing of God, remain in health'. Mīr Amman's translation, perhaps the first book in Urdu prose, is not literal and the translator has even changed certain details of the story, but on the whole it is true to the original.

2 See for instance : fol. 8*b* khushāmadgo; fol. 15, harāmiyān (thieves); f. 17*b*, chārsūq (market); f. 61, qūrchiyān (grooms); f. 82, tālār (tank or pond); f. 126, angusht-i-qubūl bar chashm nihādan (to accept); f. 128, uṭāq (room), etc. etc.

3 They are : Tūmān, fol. 8*b* and elsewhere ; Dastarkhān, f. 20; Ashrafī, f. 22 and elsewhere; Jīghā, fol. 35*b*, etc.; Shīrmāl, fol. 76; Tarchikan (a cloth), f. 79; Qalyān (tobacco was introduced into India only in the time of Akbar) and qahwa, f. 123*b* ; Chārqab f. 139*b*, etc.

4 See ff. 53*b*, 71, 99, etc., which show that the author knew the Europeans intimately.

برهنه سر برت آیم برسم و راه فرنگ   که من گدای فرنگم تو پادشاه فرنگ

5 See note above.

6 *Vide* f. 105.

7 The MS. is not complete.

Munshī of Amīnābād (Deccan) in the reign of Shāhjahān, and comprises letters dictated by his master, Mirza Ibrāhīm Beg, son of Ḥasan 'Alī Khān Turkman (see fol. 70 et seq. of the MS.). The whole style of the prose, the verses quoted (some of which belong to Khusrau himself and to much later writers)[1] and the names of books[2] and persons mentioned would, moreover, clearly prove it to be a work of the 17th century, even if the definite information about its date and authorship were missing. The mistake has apparently arisen from its title and the opening lines:

"عنوان نامهٔ خیالات از مسنوی (مثنوی) خسرو صوری و معنوی بیاراست"

Of course, what the writer means is simply that he begins his book with some verses of a mathnawī of Khusrau's which follow immediately after the first few sentences. The same work has been noted, under a different title, by Nawab Isḥāq Khān, as one of those books ascribed to Khusrau but not belonging to him.[3]

(3) *Qaṣīda of Amīr Khusrau* (I.O.MS., No. 183).—A poem outlining the episodes described by Firdausi in the Shāhnāmah and divided into two parts, the first ending (on f. 13*b*) with the defeat of Afrāsiāb at the hands of Kāus, and consisting of 362 verses, and the second part (214 verses), bringing the story to a close, has been described as an ode of Amīr Khusrau—why, we do not know, for in this work, unlike the one mentioned above, there is even no mention of Khusrau's name. The author, on the other hand, who styles himself Dihlavī, says clearly that he completed the first half in 1066 H.[4] and that the poem was finished in the reign of Shāhjahān,[1] and so it was simply

1 Among them are Ḥāfiz, Nāznīn, Auḥadī, Shāhī, 'Urfī, 'Ārif Jām, etc. Several verses are in Turki and Hindi.

2 e.g. Khulāṣat-ul-Akhbār, Khizāna-i-'Āmira, etc. In one of the letters the date mentioned is the 11th of Dhulḥijja, 25th year of the reign (of Shāhjahān, i.e. 1062 A.H. approx.).

3 See Prolegomena, p. 18. The MS. of the work in the Rampur library, entitled 'Khayālāt-i-Khusrau'. The verses are from the 'Ashīqa.

4 منت خدایرا سخن سی هزار بیت

٣٦٠
گفتم بسه صد و بدو سی بیت اندرا

١٠٦٦
.. بود است بر دو پنج صد از سال شصت و شش

کین صفحه را زدم بدو انگشت مسطرا

رنج دو هفته بود کزو کرد در جهان

هر هفت این دو هفته مه هفت کشورا

.... یا رب بحق آل پیمبر که دهلوی

زین گفته ها گرفته نه گردد بمحشرا

because, perhaps, the MS. in question happened to be endorsed by an ignorant possessor as قصیده امیر خسرو د هلوی that it has been ascribed to Khusrau in the catalogue.[2]

We shall now turn to the genuine works of Khusrau that are available to-day and consider them one by one, beginning with the earliest, Tuhfat-us-Sighar (the Present of Youth).

A. The First Diwan

(1) *Tuhfat-us-Sighar*

The first collection of Khusrau's poems was made about the year 671 H. and contains, according to the poet's own statement in the preface, such poems as he composed from the age of sixteen to nineteen. It was his great friend and patron, Tājuddīn Zāhid, who urged Khusrau (then a mere youth and, as in the case of most young geniuses, very diffident about the merits of his own poetry) to make the collection.

'These verses', he says, 'like the natal hair of children were best clipped off and so I did not want to preserve any of them. But my friend, Zāhid, whose subtle mind is a tire-woman for the tresses of poetry (may God set his affairs right) collected these scattered writings, hair by hair, and having trimmed them, knit them up together.' The poet remonstrated with Zāhid, saying that the collection was worthless and should better be consigned to fire. He feared criticism from the poets and scholars that were already both famous and numerous in Delhi. But Tājuddīn Zāhid consoled him. 'Your critics,' he said, 'can be but of two kinds: ignorant and knowing. If they are wise they would certainly make allowances for your extreme youth, and if they are foolish, it is a folly to be afraid of them.' So, Khusrau, after a good

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1 (f. 19*b*) شاه جهانست بر سر ما سایهٔ خدا اسلام را ز قوت بازوی او مدد
آفاق را ز تیغ جهادش فروبها

The poet evidently called it Fihrist-i-Shāh Nāmah, for he says :—

فهرست شاهنامه بود نام نظم تو شیرین کند مذاق جهانرا چو شکرا

2 This poem, as far as I know, does not exist in any other library. It is written in a smooth flowing metre and the opening lines are very much like some odes of Qāānī. The author Dihlavī may be the same person as Mohd. Ṣādiq (or Ṣādiq Khān) Dihlavī, the writer of Shāhjahān Nāmah. Beg.: (after a rubā'ī):—

آمد نگار من بسراز ناز افسرا با قامتی چو از چمن خلد عرعرا
از مهر و کین دل و دهنش پر بد وتهی دو چشم جنگجو و دو لب مهر پرورا
مینا پر از نبیذ و یکی ساتگین بدست وز بادهٔ صبوح رخش گشته احمرا

deal of hesitation agreed, and wrote verses descriptive of each of the poems thus collected, so that when taken together these introductory verses form a poem not, of course, continuous or consistent in sense, but preserving the form of a qaṣīda.[1] This was an innovation of the poet, and was, as we have noted above, quite helpful in the preservation of his poems.

The dīwān comprises thirty-five qaṣīdas,[2] five tarjī's and tarkīb-bands, several fragments, mostly small, and a short mathnawī descriptive of the poet's unpleasant experiences in an Afghan fortress.[3] Most of the qaṣīdas are in praise of Ghiyāthuddīn Balban[4] and his son Prince Muḥammad Qāān Naṣīruddīn, the Martyr Prince, while others were written for some of the nobles of Balban's court, like Amīr 'Alī, surnamed Hātim Khān, Ikhtiyāruddīn Kishlū Khān, Shamsuddīn, Qiwāmulmulk 'Azīzuddīn, etc. One of the Tarkīb-bands is an elegy on the death of his grandfather, 'Imādul Mulk, the 'Āriḍ,[5] whilh another very interesting poem is a dirge on the sad demise of two birds, pets of the poet.

Khusrau in these early poems of his has often tried to imitate Khāqānī, the great master of Persia whose qaṣīdas have always been the model for ambitious poets and who even to-day is recognized to be the greatest artist in writing such poems. It was not an easy task for a young and untrained poet to imitate Khāqānī, and Khusrau seems to have met difficulties in spite of his brilliant poetic instinct. 'For some time', says he, 'I followed in the footsteps of Khāqānī and imitated him as far as form is concerned, although I often found it difficult to comprehend some of the words employed by him, and on account of my youth could not often follow his ideas.'[6] Khusrau then has tried to give to his poems a grandeur, a flow and a rhythm that characterise the poems of Khāqānī, but he has scrupulously avoided the use of difficult words and expressions that often render the Persian master's poetry unintelligible to a man of ordinary intellect and scholarship. But it is precisely these

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1 The verses are called Abyāt-i-Silsila or Abyāt-i-Surkh, and I do not think any poet, other than Khusrau has employed them. They are missing in the case of several of the odes in the I.O. MS., I,187. In this dīwān they run like this :

دارندهٔ دیست مایهٔ عشرت بماه دی این شعرگرم و ترکه می‌ روح پرور است

etc. See the Dībācha of Tuḥfat-us-Ṣighar.

2 The number is the same in the I.O. MS., 1.187, and the B.M. MS., 25,807, but the first qaṣīdas in the two manuscripts do not agree and there is a difference in the sequence. The rest of the qaṣidas and tarjī's, etc., are identical.

3 See supra.

4 This contradicts the statement of Sheikh 'Abdul Ḥaq that 'there are but few poems by Khusrau in praise of Balban'. (See Akhbār-ul-Akhyār, p. 100.)

5 See supra.

6 Dībācha of Tuḥfat-us-Ṣighar. I translate freely.

words and phrases that gave to Khāqanī's poems their peculiar grandeur and that delighted the minds of his admirers. Khusrau was too young to succeed fully in his attempt and he admits his own defeat,[1] but any careful reader would clearly see in these first fruits of a growing mind the promise of a greatness as genuine as that of Khāqanī.[2]

Anwarī and Sanāī were the other two masters that Khusrau tried to imitate in his earlier days and in the Tuḥfat-us-Ṣighar we find some poems that are evidently written after Anwarī.[3]

In several of these poems, as he says himself, the poet uses the pen-name of Sultānī, bestowed upon him by Khwāja 'Izzuddīn. The preface supplies some interesting biographical details of which we have already availed ourselves, and is written in a very ornate style that often renders it difficult to follow the sense clearly. Here are a few lines from the elegy on the two dead birds:

'When in the evening the "phoenix of the sky"[4] went down, I went to their cage to put in some more grains, but I found them both lying cold and dead in the water basin on account of the extreme heat of the air...... Alas! their pretty heads with parted feathers like buds and alas, their breasts more bloomful than jessamine! Their fresh and soft feathers like the silk of Cathay and new and warm like the velvet of China! Let birds all over the world cry and weep for them......Let the dove-pigeons break their cords of captivity in their mad grief and with their red tears paint a collar round their necks!

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1 'But the sublimity of those masters' poetry was beyond the reach of my ambition.' (Dībācha.)

2 In fact, Khusrau's odes after Khāqāni are wonderful specimens of artistic poetry. See, for instance, odes No. 10 :

صبح از کمین چو رخ به تماشا برآورد   چرخ آتشین حجاب بر اعضا برآورد

قلب خزان را شکست تاختن نو بهار: No. 11 ; ای بسته ماهروی تو مهر اندر آئینه,

etc., written in imitation of Khāqānī's odes, beg.: (p. 13 of Kulliyāt): No. 17 :

هر صبح رخ ز گلشن سودا برآورم ;

ما فتنه بر توایم و تو فتنه بر آئینه   ما را نگاه در تو ترا اندر آئینه

(p.66, *Ibid.*) ; کرد خزان تاختن بر سر خیل بهار (*Ibid.*, p. 262).

3 Such is No. 39 beg. : با ز بلبل در غزل خوانی شده است in which he says :

خه که در عهد تو سلطان سخن   خسرو لا چین سلطانی شده است

تا کشد گردون بچشم انوری   خاک من کحل سپاهانی شده است

4 i.e. the sun.

Let the hoopoes burn their crests with their burning sighs and wreathe their sad sighs about their heads like crowns!.......Let the swallows gather together in mourning and make the garden full of turmoil with their groans and laments! ....May God that they two live for ever in Iram, and in the garden of Mercy......May their nest be in the branches of the Sidra when birds congregate on the trees of Paradise! May the faith and loyalty of these two friends pass into an eternal romance among the poeple of the world!'[1]

THE SECOND DĪWĀN.

(2) *Waṣt-ul-Ḥayāt*

The second collection of Khusrau's poem, named by him 'Was ul-Ḥayāt'[2] (the Middle of Life), was made by the poet in his thirty-second year,[3] and consists of a preface, fifty-eight qaṣīdas, eight tarjī's, several fragments and quatrains, making a total of 8,441 verses (abyāt) altogether.

The preface, written in the same style as that of the Tuḥfat-uṣ-Ṣighar, is quite long and supplies a few more details about the poet's career.

We learn from it that the poet had now established his position among the poets of Delhi and that with the advance of years his poetry had acquired maturity and richness. 'The time', he says, 'for the ascendancy of witty compositions and elegant writings is no doubt the middle of our lives and the sweet youth. If a writer's fiery nature does not light a blazing torch in the world during the night of youth, no bright picture is left on the page of time from his pen after his death.' He goes on to say that it was only at the age of thirty-two that his poetic genius was fully developed, for the poetry of very young people is unripe and imperfect, howsoever intense their passion for it

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1 The birds were apparently cocks, for Khusrau calls them 'nar' (نر). No. 40 (fol. 47), I.O., MS. 1,187, and No. 41 in B.M., MS. 25,807.

2 See preface :

بفضل الله قد سطرت هذه الصفحات و جعلتها واسطة لبقاء الذات بعد الممات و جمعتها بوسط لحيواة الخ.

and further on :

"چون این لطایف زبدهٔ لطف حیات بود بر مثال سواد جوانی و وسط زندگانی بر نهج کامرانی نام این فرحنامهٔ فرح صفات وسط الحیوات کرده شد" *

3 According to Khusrau the dīwān contains poems written between the nineteenth (the I.O., MS. has 12th) and twenty-fourth years of his age. But he says himself that he was thirty-two when he wrote the preface and there are poems in the collection written certainly after the age of 24. No. 35 (f. 104) was written in 690 while No. 6 was composed in 684 when the poet was thirty-three and No. 4 at the age of thirty-two.

and howsoever great their talents. The poetry of old age is weak, lacking the fire and the vivid imagination of youth, and thus while youth wants maturity and perfection of technique old age lacks passion and imagination. Hence it is the middle age that is best suited for the production of poetry of the highest order.

This collection, too, he made at the persistent requests of his friends who, having preserved carefully his verses, odes and mat̲h̲nawīs, handed them over to the poet to be arranged in their present form. The poet has supplied this d wān also with the introductory verses[1] (abyāt-i-silsila) and has made use of certain other new artifices in the poems contained in it.[2]

Among the qasīdas are Ḥukmul-Hikam (No. 6, f. 73*b*), 'Alam-ul-'Ilm (No. 7, f. 79*b*); Azhār-ul-Anwār (No. 31, f. 99*b*) and Mirwahaturrūḥ (No. 35, f. 104*b*), while the tarjī'āt contain 'Ain-ul-Ma'anā Rūyat-ul-Hilāl and Hadīqat-ul-ḥadāqat. Most of the qasīdas are in praise of the martyr Prince, Muhammad Qāān.[3] Other qasīdas are in praise of God, the Prophet, Niẓāmuddīn Auliya, Balban, Kaliqobād, Bug̲h̲ra K̲h̲ān, Ik̲h̲tiyāruddīn Kishlī K̲h̲ān, Shamsuddīn Dabīr, Tājuddin Alp bin Azhdar, Jalāludd n F rūz K̲h̲aljī,[4] etc. The Ḥukm-ul-Hikam describes the catastrophe at Multan[5] and the poet's

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1 The abyāt-i-silsila run as follows :

ابتدا چون شد کتاب من به توحید خدا   هست امیدم که بخشد از ظلم نور و صفا

2 One of these is the peculiar form of 'Tak̲h̲alluṣ' called Ḥāmil-i-Mauqūf. For example, he quotes the following lines (qaṣīda, No. 58; f. 122*b*, I.O. MS., 1,187):

اکنون که آب چشم بلا گشت مردرا   چشم مرا که باز خرد از بلای آب

سلطان مکرمت شرف‌الدین فتح ملک   ای آنکه ریزی از سخن جانفزای آب الخ

هنوز تا چه کند کینه های غمزه ورت   اگر به لطف برین بنده مهربان نبود

ستوده نصرت دنیا محمد؟ سلطان   که جز بذات‌وی‌از مرحمت‌نشان نبود !الخ

Cf. also B.M. MS., 25,807, f. 6. This artifice became very popular in later times and Qāānī often employs it. See the Muk̲h̲ammas in praise of the Queen-Mother. (Calcutta, 1907, p. 308 :

کنون هم ارچه مفلسم ز دل نفس نمیکشم   به هیچ روی منتی ز هیچکس نمیکشم

فغان ز جور نیستی بدادرس نمیکشم   کشیدم ارچه پیش ازین ازین سپس نمیکشم

مگر بدان که صدر هم رهانده ز افتقارها الخ

3 Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44 and 55.

4 No. 54 (f. 120*b*). It is the only poem in this dīwān in praise of him.

5 See supra.

own captivity, while the Mirwaḥatur-rūḥ depicts the rigours of a journey in the hot weather.[1] Among the tarjī‘s, Nos. 6, 7 and 8 are elegies on the death of Prince Muhammad,[2] Nos. 1, 2 and 3 are addressed to the same prince, No. 4 is a fine poem written on the accession of Kaiqobād[3] and No. 5 is addressed to Kishlī-Khān.[4]

The tarjī‘s are followed by forty-two fragments of varying lengths and on diverse topics,[5] some being addressed to contemporary persons of rank. The last fragment gives the number of the verses in the dīwān.[6]

Khusrau in this dīwān, as in the Tuḥfatus-Ṣighar, has followed close in the footsteps of Khāqānī and we must look in the dīwān of that master for the prototypes of several of Khusrau's qaṣīdas. The elegies, too, beautiful and distinctive as they are, have also their inspiration from Khāqānī's elegies, but Khusrau has given them a pathos and a local colour that mark them as entirely his own. At the time Khusrau wrote the poems in this dīwān, another Persian master, Kamāl of Ispāhan, had come into great prominence. This poet, essentially a panegyrist, has been called the 'Creator of Ideas' on account of his subtle and highly artistic style, so that according to Daulat Shāh one could grasp his meaning only after a second or third perusal of his verses.[7]

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1 &2 See supra.

3 The poem has for its refrain :

سلطان معز دنیا و دین کیقباد شاه　　　یک دیده و دو مردمک چار پادشاه

(See supra.)

4 The order of the poems as given in the B.M. MS. 25,807, is different from that in the I.O. MS. 1187.

5 The poet gives the number at the beginning (f. 139*b*) in the bait-i-silsila :

این چهل قطعه است و دو گر کم نویسد یک کسی　　　باشد این نقش چهل بر جهل آن جاهل گوا

The MS. has all the 42.

6 F. 145. The number is given in an enigma, which, however, the poet explains himself :

واسطه است از پیٔ حیات ابد　　　این کتاب از چنین خجسته خطاب
در شمردن ز بیتهایٔ ترش　　　هشت ابر آمده است بر یک آب
غیم یعنی که هشت بار بخوان　　　ما بیکبار دیده‌ایم صواب
چارصدچهل و یکست و هشت هزار　　　همه بیت از جمل کشاده نقاب
این شماریست وضع بنده که نیست　　　هیچکس را درو محل جواب

i.e. 8× غیم +6=8(1000+10+40)+40+1=8400+41=8441.

7 Tazkira, p. 149. See also Browne Lit. Hist., II, p. 540 seq. ; and Majma‘ul-Fuṣaḥā I, 489 seq.

Khusrau, like other poets of his time, also tried his hand at the new style and soon acquired a great proficiency in it. We have already seen how he recited one of his quatrains in that style before Maulānā Mush'iruddīn[1] and how that great scholar praised and admired his skill.

Kamāl, then, is the other poet whom Khusrau has followed in this dīwān, and we can trace a similarity between the poems of the two masters.

We have already translated portions of two of the fine elegies written by the poet on the death of Prince Muhammad. Here are a few lines more from another.

'O my heart! Put up with grief, for happiness has disappeared, and thou O Sorrow! take the world for Pleasure has left the earth...... The Eye andthe Lamp of the king of the world is gone; the champion and bulwark of the Indian empire is no longer there! Where is the right arm of that Treasure of the Kingdom and the Faith! Where alas is the Prince of the whole world.... O Sāki, away with the wine, for it has lost its old flavour! O Minstrel, stop that music, for the lute lacks its former ring of pleasure. Throw the wine on dust for the time of joy is over, and smash the cup on stone as the days of drink ing are gone! Alas! who shall now reply the enemy on the day of battle when the sharp tongue of the sword is gone? Khusrau! how long this tale of woe? The night is approaching its end and the Khān has gone to sleep. Draw the cover on that moon-like face and tear open the lining of the black cap.'[2]

'A month has passed and he goes not out to play chaugān. His sword does not glitter in the fray, and his charger does not run in the cavalcade. He laughs not like the rose in the garden and he shows not his face like the moon from the balcony. The nadīms[3] sit with books in their hands; why does he not manage the state-affairs as of yore? It is the new year's day, why is his assembly not decorated like the Garden of Paradise to celebrate it? Oh, would that this night of sorrow were over, and the sun that has just set had risen up again! Would that the infidel had received from the swords of the

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1 Dībācha of Wastul Hayāt, I.O.MS. 1187. The name given is Mush'iruddin Gharīfī or Ghirīfī, but in the B.M. MS. 25,807 (f. 3 seq.) the name is transcribed as Muhadhdhabuddīn Balakhī. Neither of the two names is mentioned by Barni, although it would appear that the man was a great scholar for Khusrau calls him :

"مولانای امام معنی مقتدای انام صدر شریعت مهذب الدین بلخی" *

2 The black cap, like the black umbrella or canopy, was a symbol of royalty. Tearing it would, of course, be a sign of mourning.

3 Courtiers or companions.

ghāzīs what the ghāzīs received from his arrows ![1] Where are the jāndārs[2] of the Prince ! Would that I saw them race like the wind by the side of the golden umbrella? Where are all the armour-bearers?[3] I wish I could see them bringing the princely sword with its golden belt, and shout, "Be joyous the Prince arrives in Multan!" Alas ! it is only the dust of Malik Muaḥmmad Sultan that arrives !'

The dīwān Wastul Ḥayāt is rather rare and is not found in several copies of the Kulliyāt.[4]

The Third Dīwān

(3) *Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl.*

Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl (the Prime of Perfection), the third and in several respects the most important of Khusrau's five dīwāns, was collected and arranged by the poet in the year 693 HI, and, in its first form, contained poems composed between 685 H. and 693 H. or from the age of thirty-four to that of forty-three years.[5] The poet was encouraged and helped in the task by his friends, notably 'Alāuddīn 'Alī Shāh, the scribe, Maulānā Shihābuddīn and Tājuddīn Zāhid. The dīwān has been, like the two preceding ones, supplied with the abyāt-i-silsila (introductory verses) and a preface which is very full[6] and gives briefly the outlines of the poet's biography.[7] It contains, moreover, some very interesting discussions about the merits of poetry, the superiority of Persian poetry over Arabic poetry, the excellence of the language and verse of India, the different kinds and classes of poetry, and the various methods of acquiring mastery over this art. The poet also speaks of his own accomplishments and of some new ideas and artifices, introduced by him into poetry.

Speaking of Arabic and Persian verse he advances the following arguments to show the superiority of the latter:

1 Khusrau is very candid in acknowledging the reverse suffered by the Indian army.

2 Guards. See Sarjāndār (supra).

3 Silāḥdārs.

4 All the references, unless otherwise stated, are from the I.O. MS. 1187.

5 That the poet added subsequently later poems to the dīwān is apparent from its contents and also also from what he says in the Dībācha : 'From the year 685, when I was 34 years of age, to the year 693 when I have become 43—all compositions collected by the scribes have been inserted in this volume *and whatever gathers later on shall also go herein.*'

"بعد ازین هر چه جمع اوفتد هم درین کارخانه خرج شود"

6 It occupies more than thirty folios in the B.M. MS. 25,807 (f. 327*b* to f. 358*b*).

7 We have already availed ourselves of this valuable information.

1. Persian poetry is more rhythmetic and balanced. Ziḥāf, etc., spoil the beauty of Arabic verse.

2. The fact that Arabic possesses such a vast vocabulary and words of multiple senses while few words in Persian have more than one sense, and yet Persian poetry has reached to such a high pitch of excellence, is sufficient to show the superiority of this poetry over Arabic poetry.

3. Arabic poetry requires only the 'qāfiya' while Persian has both qāfiya and rad f.

He says of Indian scholars :

'Again, the scholars of India, especially those who live in Delhi, are superior in poetic talent to men of good taste found anywhere else in the world. The Arab, the Khurāsānī, the Turk, the Hindu or others who come to various cities of India in the possession of the Mohammadans, like Delhi, Multan or Lakhnauti, not to speak of Gujrat, Malwa or Deogir, which are still the demonaic abodes of the Hindus, cannot change their tongue even if they spend their whole lives here, and shall always compose after the fashion of their own country......But a writer who has been brought up in the cities of India, especially Delhi, can, without actual contact or intercourse with any particular people, write verse after the manner of that people—nay, can even mould their prose and poetry to his own requirements[1] and can write successfully in the style of any country he goes to. It has been proved by experience that several of our men, without even visiting Arabia, have acquired an eloquence in Arabic which was denied even to great Arab masters......I have seen many a Tazik and Turk, who learnt Turkish in India by education and study and spoke it so eloquently that pure Turks coming from Khorāsān were astonished.[2]

Similarly, the Persian language, although, of course, its original home was Persia, has lost its purity of idiom everywhere except in Māwarāun-nahr, the language of that country being like that of India. The Khurāsāni, for instance, says chī for chih, while some say kajū for kujā, although they write the words properly......But the Persian tongue in India from the river Sind to the sea-shore[3] is one and invariable. When we possess such uniformity of idiom, it is but natural that our poetry is great. This Persian of ours is, moreover, the original and pure Persian.[4] The Hindui tongue, no doubt,

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1 "تواند که در نظم و نثر ایشان تصرفی کند"

2 This would show that the Turks in India had already become strangers to Turkish.

3 He means, of course, the sea-shore in the extreme south.

4 Pārsi-i-Darī.

varies greatly in idiom in different parts of the country, but Persian is the same throughout its length and breadth, and it is pronounced as it is written. It is not like the tongue of the people of Azerbaijan, who say "kardakun" for karda, or like that of the Sīstānīs who always conclude their words with "sin", e.g., karda-i-sin, gufta-i-sin. Yet, when some of the Bālāis came here —and they were learned and scholarly persons, not boors—the Persian writers of Delhi adopted their speech in order to mock them, and wrote so well in that style that they could not criticise or find fault with their writing.'

The Dīwān has got more than ninety qaṣīdas and tarjī's, about nine mathnawīs, numerous fragments and quatrains. The qaṣīdas contain some of the finest specimens of Khusrau's poetry that have acquired a well-deserved fame. Several of them have been written as replicas to famous poems by older masters like Anwāri, Khāqānī, Ẓahīr of Fāryāb and Kamāl of Ispahan, but there are many more which are original.

Among the qaṣīdas are : (1) Jannāt-un-najāt, written in imitation of Sanāi and containing the praise of God, the poet's conception of Him and his ideas about religious beliefs and practices, written at the age of forty-one in 692 H.; (2) Mir'āt-us-Ṣafā, a very well-known poem, being a replica to Khāqānī's 'Shīnīyya'.[1] The poem written in a didactic strain is a very long one and was composed in 695 H. when the poet was almost forty-five. The main theme is the praise of the Prophet. (3) Daryā-i-abrār, another very famous poem, that excited the praise and jealousy of his contemporaries and successors, has for its main theme the eulogy of the saint Nizāmuddīn Auliyā,[2] (4) Nẓam-ud-Durar, another poem in a marked didactic strain. Other qaṣīdas are mostly

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1 Poem rhyming in 'shīn'. Khāqānī's poem contains 24 verses while the Mir'ātus-Ṣafa of Khusrau has 150 verses. Other imitations of the poem are : Jilā-ur-Rūh, by Jāmī (130 verses), Anīs-ul-Qalb by Fuḍūlī of Baghdad (134 verses) and Ummān-ul-Jawāhir by 'Urfī (94 verses). (See Hajji Khalifa IV, 510.)

2 See Nawāi's Majālis-un-Nafāis (Trans. by M. Belin. Journal Asiatique VII, 1861, p. 329 seq.), where the author says how he praised the poem in the presence of Jāmī, how Jāmī composed his famous poem, Lujjat-ul-Asrār in reply to it and how Nawāi himself composed another imitation, Baḥr-ul-Afkār. According to Nawāi, Khusrau said : 'Si par tels evenements quelconques mes oeuvres venaient a etre totalement perdues sauf cette qacide, je ne m'en inquieterais guere, car quiconque la lira saura apprecier ma valeur et mon talent dans la republique des lettres.' Khusrau's, Jāmī's and Nawāi's poems open respectively as follows :

(۱) کوس شه خالی و بانگ غلغلش اندر سر است

(۲) کنگر ایوان شه کز کاخ کیوان برتر است

(۳) آتشین لعلی که تاج خسروان را زیور است

panegyrics addressed to Jalāluddin Fīrūz Khaljī, to his sons, Arkalik Khān and Ibrahim Qadar Khān, to 'Alāuddin Khaljī and his brother, Almās Beg, Ulugh Khān, to Ikhtiyāruddīn 'Ali bin Āybek (Ḥātim Khān), and to some other contemporary nobles.

The tarjī's contain a very fine poem, written in imitation of a poem of Khāqānī, containing the praise of the Prophet, a panegyric named Nūr-un-Nūr addressed to Jalāluddīn Khaljī, another addressed to 'Alāuddīn Khaljī on the birth of a son, describing the decoration of Delhi on the auspicious occasion, an elegy on the death of Prince Maḥmūd Khān-i-Khānān, eldest son of Fīrūz Khaljī, and another on the death of the poet's own son, Muḥammad.

The mathnawīs include Miftāḥ-ul-fūtūḥ (which has often been considered as a separate work but which certainly belongs to the Ghurratul Kamāl as evidenced by the 'bait-i-silsila' that precedes it),[1] a long letter addressed to Tājuddīn Zāhid, written in 676 H. from Oudh, comprising 263 verses; the Faras Nāmah a very humorous and interesting poem addressed to Amīr 'Ali Sarjāndār (Ḥātim Khān) describing the plight of a horse given by that noble to the poet and requesting the gift of another ; short poems descriptive of the splendour of certain princely structures and a very small but original sonnet addressed to a fan.

The fragments, as usual, are of various lengths and treat of very diverse topics. The fragments are followed by rubā'īs (quatrains), and then comes a collection of ghazals. The qaṣāid in the Ghurra are some of the finest poems of Khusrau and display an elegance, a flow and a charm that are really wonder ful. His imitations of the older masters have in some cases excelled the originals in sheer grandeur and pathos and have equalled them in artistic phraseology, while some of the original poems are among the best specimens of Persian poetry.

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1 The verse is in the same metre and has the same rhyme as the other introductory verses in the dīwān and is, in fact, includsd in the abyāt-i-silsila given collectively in the beginning of the dīwān. It runs as follows :—

„بین مثنوی و خاصه چنین فتحنامهٔ   کز دیدنش تهمتن شهنامه گشت زال"

The opening verse of the Ghurra is :,

„چون آفتاب روشن توحید ذوالجلال   بنمود رخ ز مطلع این غرهٔ کمال"

while the last verses are :

منت خدایرا که شد این ماه نو تمام   وز هجرت رسول شده هفصد و دو سال
چون ذو الجلال کرد تمامش قبول او   کردم حواله هم بخداوند ذو الجلال

We shall consider the mathnawī, however, separately later on,

Here are a few lines from one of the qaṣīdās in praise of Jalāluddīn Khaljī, after Zahīr of Fāryāb[1]:

'The loved one's sweet, honeyed mouth
    That bliss to life doth give,
To life-less ones from its sweet font
    The nectar rich doth give.
Lo ! Here am I but one of those
    Who pine away from her !
Sure, 'tis the lot of every one
    Whom she false hopes doth give.
Long ages pass, but never doth
    She think of her poor friends
I wish the kindly Lord to her
    A softer heart may give !
What cares she in her regal pomp,
    In her swift, bright career
If there be one who from afar
    Doth watch—his life doth give ?
My heart is lost—I grope for it
    In darkness in her alley ;
Is there a soul of this lost one
    A clue to me can give ?
O Gard'ner 'ware the fiery sighs
    The nightingale shall breathe !
Let not that fair rose its sweet scent
    To morning breezes give !
My heart doth bleed with jealousy
    Of that impudent cup,
For see how every moment she
    A kiss to it doth give !
Lo ! E'en the Saki doth conspire
    To rob me of my life !
Dead-drunk am I, and evermore
    Fresh goblets he doth give !

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1 The qaṣīda opens thus :

شیرین دهان یار که راحت بجان دهد   آب حیات زان لب شکر فشان دهد

(Kulliyāt-i-Khusrau : Nawal Kishore, p. 28 ; I.O. MS. 1186; B.M. MS. 25, 807, No. 43) while Ẓahīr's qaṣīda begins as :

شرح غم تو لذت شادی بجان دهد   لعل لب تو طعم شکر در دهان دهد

(*Vide* Lubb-ul-Albāb II, 304 ; compare also Ghālib's qaṣīda.)

Lost am I now, nor can revive
E'en if with her fair hands
She pours the wine for me and with
A gracious smile doth give !
A thousand times my mouth I wash
With purest nectar rare
Ere may my mouth an humble kiss
On the kingly stirrup give !
The mighty king, Jalāluddīn,
To whom the lofty heaven
Its seven chairs as ladders for
The lofty throne doth give—
Fīrūz, the glorious king, whose fame
From East to West spreading.
Each moment to all living things
New hopes of peace doth give !

The 'Faras-Nāmah' is a fairly long mathnawī, written in an easy flowing style. Some portions of it are extremely interesting, and display a keen sense of humour in the poet. I give below a translation of part of it.

'O horse-giver, listen—listen for a moment to the tale of the horse and the grief of Khusrau ! When once in your generosity you bestowed horses on all that be, and so many stables, like ropes of pearls, were scattered, I pulled up courage and took away one of the pearls from the populous stables. Yes, I took a pearl, but not born of nacre, amber-coloured yet not amber. Nay, not a pearl but a sky-exploring cloud, that eclipsed the pearls of the sky,—a Tartar horse of sweet temper ; a Turkish steed, unique in all Hind.......Hot in career like the sun, swift in flight as the desert wind......His feet flew in the air like birds and his shoes shone like the crescent moon in mid-air......

Although I captured that demon, I was myself afraid of its malign influence. I recited and blew all the incantations I knew, but I fled from him and he from himself. But at last I got on to his back after a good deal of coaxing and wheedling—pale with fear like a dried-up leaf on an autumn twig—and drove him ever so gently. My hands and feet trembled as doth a rose swaying in the breeze, and I sat on his back a picture of helplessness—like a piece of bone on the back of the Phoenix[1] dreading a fall every moment and preparing myself for death. As I went through the streets, he jumped from house to house, trampling on every horse he met on the way, and thus like a flying bird I reached back my home................'

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1 Bones are considered to be the favourite food of the fabulous bird Humāy.
Sad'i says of it : "که استخوان خورد و طایری نیازارد"

The poet then describes how this lively and spirited horse grew thin and weak for want of nourishment, and proceeds :

'I tried my best to restore him to his former vigour, but it was no use: on the other hand, I also became ill. When, however, I got a little stronger I went to enquire about him, and said to him : "O my hardy steed that wast like fire and water ere this, what is it that ails thee, so that thou hast become like the autumn rose? Thou wast a bird, but hast become a nest: thou wast a horse and hast become a whip. Every joint of thy body appears like a reed and I, the rider of the reed, must look like a madman. I am not a child to ride a reed-horse: I should consign such a reed to fire. How dost thou fare now? Tell me without hesitation or fear." '

The horse in great indignation replies that it is starvation that has brought him to this miserable condition and requests the poet to write to his former master from him, telling him of his plight and asking him to take him back. The letter runs as follows :

'This is my tale : I break the seal, and display the unseen image to the commander of the world, the expert, royal rider of the horse of bounty. With due humility and earnestness the poor Tartar horse relates his grievous story standing in the row of shoes.[1] You, in your royal favour and kindness, were pleased to bestow me upon K͟husrau, and he took me to his house, where I saw a stable, vile and rotten. There are in it a few scabby horse-lings, their backs bare of skin and their heads devoid of hair. Their ribs look like the teeth of a comb, and they are thin as hair......For want of fodder they have become blind and feeble and are tied to pegs that will be their graves. On account of their intense craving for fodder, grass has grown on their bellies. They chew wood like sugar and suck reeds like the sugar-cane......I watch every night the galaxy and strive to pick grain from the moon......for ever since I left your abode my stomach was never filled with grass.

'O Knight and Chief, and O Master! O mighty Lion and furious Dragon! In your patronizing kindness you gave me to your slave, for you, who provide comfort for the whole world, are always kind and generous. But why were you so angry with me that you gave me away and took no pity? You gave me away in generosity, have mercy on me......I know you are too generous to take back what you have given, but take me away from this deceitful tyrant (K͟husrau) and give him some other horse. Give him another horse and give him what the horse may eat, for otherwise that horse would never come out alive from his house. Give him not a horse without fodder if you want it

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1 Ṣaffi-Ni'āl : the lowest rank in an assembly where generally the guests place their shoes.

not to die of starvation like me ; let it not suffer what I have suffered at his hands. Behold ! I am already at death's door and can hear the sounds of the other world. I go to empty the granaries of Paradise of their oats and hay. I have stood up only to fall, and have opened my heart to lay down my life, for how can I live in this plight ?—may you live happily for a hundred years and may the horse of desire be under your saddle ! God grant my prayer, Amen !'

That Khusrau, in spite of what he says in the dībācha, did ultimately attach a number of ghazals to this dīwān is clear from two of the 'abyāt-i-silsila' that were evidently meant to top the collection of ghazals.[1] The book opens with poems in praise of God and the Prophet, and contains a large number of lyrics arranged in alphabetical order.

The number of quatrains is also very large, and some of them are in the Shahr-Ashūb style—a novel feature in Khusrau's works.[2] They are addressed to young and handsome pliers of different crafts and trades—a fisherman, the son of a tavern-keeper, that of a weaver, of a money-changer, a tailor, and so on. One of the quatrains is of special interest, being a rare example in verse of the artifice 'Double-tongued' (ذو اللسانين), wherein the concluding words can be interpreted both in Persian as well as Hindi without spoiling the meaning of the whole. It runs as follows: 'I saw a Hindu youth sweet as sugar from head to foot and the sight filled me with wonder. I asked him to tell me what the down on his face was, and he cried out 'morī bapā'.[3]

MSS. of the dīwān exist in many libraries in Europe and India, but it has never been published.[4]

THE FOURTH DĪWĀN.

(4) *Baqīya Naqīya.*

The fourth collection of Khusrau's poems was made, again by the poet himself, about the year 716 H.[5] or soon after the death of 'Alāuddīn Khaljī.

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1 The verses are :

درد دلیست هر غزلم زان سبب که هست خلق بتان بلای دل و فتنه این خیال

ابیات عاشقانه نگه کن که هر یکی دارد سواد کوته و خوش چون شب وصال

2 B.M. MS., No. 25,807, ff. 439-440. These quatrains probably form part of the collection entitled the Shahr-Ashūb of Khusrau, referred to by the late Nawab Isḥāq Khan. (See Prolegomena.)

3 In Persian 'ant with feet', in Hindi an exclamation 'Oh my father'. B.M. MS. f.439*b*.

4 I have utilized I.O. MSS., Nos. 1186 and the B.M. MS., No. 25,807.

5 I conclude this from the dībācha where he gives his age, at the time of writing it, as sixty-four. 'Alāuddin died in 715 H.

Apparently the poet, when he compiled and edited the Ghurra, never thought that he would be able to produce a fourth dīwān and so intended to attach all subsequent compositions to that collection.[1] But his poetry grew, as it were, in spite of himself. His genius, the poetic mind, grew younger and more vigorous with the advance of age. He says himself in the preface:

'My mind...... grows greedier of poesy every day. At the age of thirty-two, when I composed one quatrain, I had to think and ponder before I could produce another. But now when I am sixty-four and the pearls of my teeth are about to fall, my mind tells me that this is the proper time to let pearls of poesy drop from my mouth. The harder I try to seal my mouth, the more profusely these pearls come out...... Often do I plunge into seas[2] unfathomed even by the perfect masters, and without any great trouble bring out so many bright pearls that I can hardly gather them. But as the days for decorating and ornamenting verses are now past, I pick up only one or two that are worth picking up and string them together while the rest lie on the surface[3] of my mind, soiled and neglected, for if I were to collect all the fine pearls, there would have been not four dīwāns but four oceans......'

'I improvise so swiftly that ere one can utter the name of 'bait' I finish a verse, and even the quick imagination cannot overtake my improvisations for many a quatrain have I completed ere I had time to imagine or think. By the right of my pen, very often the flowing pen of the swift and agile Scribe has failed to attain the quickness of my composition and in the assemblies of kings mostly I have been content to extemporise and to dispense with the services of the pen......'[4]

No wonder, then, that the poet was tempted to add a fourth dīwān to the three already existing. He started on the old plan, wrote a preface, and the introductory verses, and made a collection of qaṣāid, tarjī's, fragments, quatrains and some short mathnawīs. But the preface was written in a new style which Khusrau had recently evolved and in which passages of varying lengths are composed with analogies drawn from different things and topics.[5]

The preface begins, as usual, with the praise of God, and the eulogy of the Prophet followed by an encomium on his Sheikh, Niẓāmuddīn Auliyā. Then comes a passage of self-laudation characteristic of a man

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1 See supra.

2 Buḥūr, which, of course, means both seas and metres.

3 Literally on the 'clay (ṭīn) of my mind'.

4 Dībācha, Baqīya Naqīya :

5 Khusrau first employed this style in the composition of Khazāin-ul-futūh, though he had explained it in the I'jāz-i-Khusrawī. We shall speak more about it in connection with the former work.

who is sure of his powers and knows that his claim to superiority is unchallenged. 'The slave, Khusrau', he says, 'by the grace of the kingdom-bestowing God, is unique and peerless in the realm of poetry. Every quatrain of his strikes the five-fold "naubat"[1] on the drum of the nine skies and the Khaṭṭī [2] lance of his pen, which has a sky-scraping flag of fine verses, has risen to the azure canopy of heaven. His royal coins, each of which is perfect and bright like the full moon, have become current from city to city or rather, like the silvery disc of the sun, have caught the East and the West.... The far-sighted wise ones know well that in his writings there are prose and poetry of such high order as would not acknowledge the superiority of anything except the Koran, the tarditions of the Prophet and the sayings of the religious scholars..... Every "tauḥīd" [3] written by him is a ray from "God is the Light of the skies and the earth" [4]; every "na't" is a reflection of "yāsīn" ......' [5]

He then goes on to describe the four orders of poetry which he likens to the four elements, i.e. earth, water, air and fire, and of which the one resembling fire, he says, is the noblest and most sublime. Then he compares his four dīwāns to four skies and gives his ideas as to how a dīwān should be arranged and what it should contain. [6] He then again speaks of his prowess in the field of poetry but winds up, in curious contrast, with a note of dismay, despondency and regret. 'In the criminal pursuit', he says, 'of black and white, [7] may beard, once black, has turned white and my white face has become black, and yet like foolish children I sleep content with the thought that my ghazals keep the young and the old awake. [8] My condition is like that of a child who is sent to school to learn wisdom, but who runs instead to the childish sport of reed-riding, and so remains a pedestrian [9] for the whole of his life. I believe that the proper use of the pen is to employ it in religious sciences and its flight to any other field is a mere child's frolic. I, the child in old age, have made the reed I call a pen run into the deserts of misguidance and know not which of the wildernesses of

1 A drum or a band played before the residence of a sovereign or a noble at stated intervals.

2 Khaṭṭi lances were famous in Arabia. Khusrau, of course, puns upon the word Khaṭṭ, which means also 'script' or writing.

3 Praise of God.

4 A verse from the Koran : "اللّٰهُ نُورُ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَ الْاَرْضِ"

5 Beginning of the well-known sūra of the Koran supposed to be in praise of the Prophet.

6 See supra.

7 Letters.

8 With ecstatic joy.

9 Unfit and unaccomplished.

hell it shall ultimately take me to. Whenever this painful thought crosses my mind, a flame runs thraugh my body. The only hope of this black record of mine being wiped out lies in the belief that Forgiveness is the cloud of mercy and Kindness the font of connivance, so that if a down-pour comes from that cloud and a splash arrives from that fountain, my black record as well as myself of the black deeds shall be washed perfectly clean. Else what I deserve is that that record be tied to my neck and with blackened face I be paraded far and near and then consigned to dreary hell so that both the record and myself be consumed entirely.'

The contents of the dīwān, as the poet says himself in a fragment, are sixty-three qaṣīdas, six tarjī's one hundred and sixty-five couplets of mathnawīs, two hundred fragments, five hundred and seventy ghazals, and three hundred and sixty quatrains.[1]

The qaṣīdas are mostly in praise of 'Alāuddīn Khaljī,[2] a few are addressed to Quṭbuddīn [3] Mubārak Shāh, while another few are encomiums on some of the contemporary nobles, like Almās-beg Ullugh Khān, Tājuddīn Dabīr, Ḥamīduddīn, Naṣīruddīn, , Āriḍ, etc. Some of these poems are evidently imitations of older masters, [4] but most of them are original in style and are perfect specimens of Khusrau's highest art. Among them are two poems, one written in the month of Ramaḍān [5] and the other on the occasion of the 'Īd, and nothing can excel them in the quaintness of analogies, the beauty of imageries and the smoothness of rhythm. In the qaṣīda-i-Īdiyya he says :

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1 The fragment is found in the British Museum MṢ. No. 25,807, f. 97 beg.: "عدد جنس قصاید که من انگیخته ام" This MS., however, has only 56 qaṣīdas. The India Off. MS., No. 1187 has full 63.

2 36, in fact of the 63.

3 About 10.

4 No. 33 (f. 358, I.O. MS. 1187) beg.:

نو بهار امسال ما را روزه فرماید همی   گل چنان تر دامن از می لب نیالاید همی

5 Such are No. 8, f. 344 (written after Ẓahīr), No. 14, f. 348 (written after 'Abdul Wāsi'-al-Jabalī), No. 35, f. 360 (after Khāqānī), etc. The opening verses of Khusrau's odes, with the corresponding verses of these masters are :

سپیده دم که گهر بارد ابر در گلزار : (خ)
سپیده دم که زند ابر خیمه در گلزار (ظ)
کجا خیزد چو توسروی جوان وناز ک و نوبر : (خ)
که دارد چونتو معشوقی نکارو چابک و دلبر : (ع), etc.,

(See 'Aufī, II, 104.)

'It is 'Īd, and the Saki has poured the purified ruby into the cup to provide a sherbet for the thirsty fasters. Wine is the antidote for the sick, nay it is liquid life or dissolved sun put into the beaker. Wine is the fountain of life, nay it is the flowing stream of life's blood which conceals in itself the "ma'jūn" of revivification...... In front of their houses sit the great men with wine and musicians, the wine coursing through their delicate bodies like life. The wine cooled like ice is fire quenched with water [1] ..... There are also scents, sweet as musk and heaps of roses and tulips and on all sides there are trays of delicious fruits and sweets, while a hundred kinds of syrups and drinks flavoured with musk and camphor have been prepared. Every one reclines in a cool spot, a fine garment on the body, fresh as a cloud and light as a rose-petal. The delicate-bodied fair ones have no clothes and and their bodies are smeared with sandal, the cool sandal imparting them freshness and life '.[2]

Of the six tarjī's, three are addressed to 'Alāuddīn Khaljī, one is an elegy on the death of that monarch, [3] another is in praise of his brother, Almās Beg and the sixth is another elegy written on the death of Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd. The mathnawīs contain a poem addressed to 'Alāuddīn Khaljī on the occasion of Khiḍr Khān's marriage, while in another addressed to the same king the poet complains of the neglect shown to him and requests for royal favour.

The ghazals begin with a 'ḥamd' and occupy almost 417 folios. Here is a translation of the opening poem [4]:

'O Thou beyond our fancy's flight,
How can our sense Thee comprehend?
How can our halting human wit
To Thy great being's heights ascend?

1 The poem was evidently written in the early period of 'Alāuddin's reign when wine was still an unforbidden luxury.

2 Khusrau is evidently referring to handsome youths rather than to fair women.

3 A fine poem. See supra. It begins:

"این گنبد بلند عجب تند خانه ایست بهر پرندگان چه غریب آشیانه ایست"

The Turkish poet, Ḍiyā Pasha's Tarkīb-band seems to be a strange echo of this poem. It begins:

بو کارگاه صنع عجب درسخانه در هر نقشی بر کتاب لدندن نشانه در

(See Gibb VI, 362.)

4 I.O. MS., f. 407*b* (No. 1187), beg.: ای ز خیال ما برون در تو خیال کی رسد.
Prof. Habib has also given a translation of this poem and so I was reluctant to give mine here. But I made it before I saw his translation and as the two are quite different I think mine will prove to be an interesting variant. (See Life and Works, p. 92.)

Ay, if all men and birds and beasts
    Be as the dust on Thy threshold,
How can the dust of base concern
    Thine noble garb of light enfold?
The turret high of Thy great might
    Is far beyond the endless space:
How can the wingless bird of thought
    To that eternal distance race?
Before Thy kingly unconcern,
    A thousand martyrs like Husain,
E'en on the river's bank do thirst
    And thirsty unto death remain!

From yon fair, heavenly garden where
    The Holy Ghost e'en scarce may dwell
How can our faultful sense receive
    A fragrant, life-inspiring smell?

Oft doth Thy kingly presence grace
    The earthly throne of human hearts,
Yet how that presence could be felt
    Through these benighted human arts?

Thine royal mercy's sign perceive
    Some blessed ones to Mecca bound,
Yet pagan K͟husrau naught beholds
    But idols, idols all around!
Ay, let the spear of Thy disdain
    Fall on a worthless slave like me!
Thine gifts in boundless measure rain
    On those that Thy good servants be![1]

The quatrains are quite numerous and some of them are very fine.

The dīwān has never been printed or lithographed, although selections from it occur in the 'Kulliyāt' lithographed in Lucknow. Manuscripts are numerous.

THE FIFTH DĪWĀN.

(5) *Nihāyat-ul-Kamāl.*

The fifth and the last collection of K͟husrau's poems was made by him about the close of his life after the death of G͟hiyāt͟huddīn Tug͟hlāq Shāh and

1 I have tried to retain as far as possible the metre as well as the spirit of the original in my translation, although at places the rendering is not very literal.
The original scans as follows:

مفتعلن	مفاعلن	مفتعلن	مفاعلن
—∪∪—	∪—∪—	—∪∪—	∪—∪—

the accession to the throne of his son Muhammad Tughlaq. It is preceded by a very short introduction consisting of the praise of God and the Prophet and a eulogy of Nizāmuddīn Auliyā written in a highly ornate style, but making no reference to the collection itself. In fact even the name Nihāyat-ul-Kamāl is not mentioned and there are no introductory verses. The British Museum MS.[1] of the work contains twenty-two qasīdas, five tarjī's, four short mathnawis, a number of fragments and a collection of ghazals.

The first qasīda is in praise of God, the second in praise of the Prophet and his companions, the third named Nābit-un-Na't is a eulogy of Nizamuddīn Auliya, while the following five, four of which are named Khās Ash'ār, Rūh-i-Rihāi, 'Urf-ul-'Irfān and 'Ain-ul-'Ibar respectively are long poems in a moralizing tone, outlining the proper significance of love, the ideals of virtuous conduct, the pitfalls in the life of a man and so on. The rest of the qasīdas are panegyrics on Qutbuddīn Mubārak Shāh, his successor Ghiyāthuddīn Tughlaq Shāh and the latter's sons, Mohd. Tughlaq Shāh, Prince Bahrām, Prince Ibrāhīm and some of the great men of the time. Two of these poems are especially interesting. One of them, named Sahīfatul Ausāf, addressed to Mohd. Tughlaq describes the charms of Deogir,[2] while the other addressed to Syed Tājuddīn is a long and vehement protest against a charge of disrespectfulness towards the Prophet's family levelled against the poet by his opponents.[3] The fact that the poem is addressed to a Syed and is full of urgent and earnest appeal would suggest that the poet was in real trouble as a result of this presumably false accusation. He says :

'They have alleged that in the writings of this slave[4] there is a verse or two which may be construed to be defamatory to the Prophet's family...... A suspicion there may be, no doubt, but it is not a certainty.[5] Why should a believer like me be persecuted for a mere suspicion?' He then swears by God, by the Prophet, the apostles, the Koran, the noble muhājirs and ansār,[6] the prayer-carpet of his Sheikh and by all the saints that he had never intentionally uttered a word likely to wound the feelings of the Prophet's descendants. 'And if', he continues, 'I have, inadvertently, been guilty of an impudence, well God alone is free from error'. He concludes with profuse excuses and asks forgiveness of God and man.

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1 No. 25,807.

2 We have already availed ourselves of the contents of this poem. See supra. (B.M. MS. 25,807, f. 459*b*.)

3 B.M. MS. 25,807, f. 463.

4 Rāhī, like banda, often used humbly by writers for themselves.

5 'Shubh yaqīnst', which shows that the charge was not quite baseless.

6 The companions of the Prophet.

Of the tarajī's, one is an elegy on the death of Quṭbuddīn Mubārak Shāh, two are panegyrics on Ulugh Khān, Prince Junā (afterwards Moḥd. Tughlaq), another is addressed to the same now king and describes the splendours of his coronation, while the fifth is a touching elegy on the death of his own son Ḥājī who died of a painful disease.

The first mathnawī is a condolatory letter addressed to Tājuddīn who appears to have lost his son, his mother and a brother during a short space of time. The second is addressed to Quṭbuddīn, the third to Ghiyāthudd n on the completion of the Tughlaqābād citadel, while the fourth is a reply to a letter of T judd n Sipādhār son of Shamsuddīn.

The mathnawīs are followed by fragments some of which are interesting conundrums or riddles, a novel feature not found in other works. He says, for instance, of a razor : 'What is that body held by two substances, animal and vegetable,[1] split in two and again joined together, its belly rent and a tongue in the belly, which performs the magical operation of converting an old man into a youth in a moment, and plunders sometimes musk, sometimes camphor and sometimes musk and camphor together...... ?'

The ghazals appear to be not entirely a new collection but simply a selection from those attached to the previous dīwāns with the addition of some new ones, two or three of which consist of alternate verses in Arabic and Persian. A number of quatrains follow, the last of which runs thus :

'My misdeeds have ruined me, O God, what shall I do ?

The dark tresses of the beloved have blackened my face, what shall I do ?

I hope Thou wilt forgive all my sins, but with the shame that Thou hast seen my sins, what shall I do ?'

In this dīwān, too, there are some qaṣīdas written in imitation of other poets, but, as he says in one of them, Khusrau wrote them simply to satisfy the curiosity of his friends who probably wanted to test the poet's prowess and to see how he replied to the famous poems of the famous masters.[2]

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1 Referring to the wood and bone of which the handle is usually made.

2 See No. 13, f. 457*b*, written after Anwarī and beginning :

سزد که سجده برندت کوا کب از تعظیم   که آسمان بلندی ز احسن تقویم

The corresponding poem of Anwarī begins as :

بحکم دعوی زیج و گواهی تقویم   شب چهاردهم ذی الحجه سنه ثامیم

(See S.O.S., MS. of Kulliyāt.)

B. The Historical Mathnawīs.

(6) *Qiran-us-Sa'dain.*

("The Conjunction of the two Auspicious Stars'.)

Qirān-us-Sa'dain, the first long poem in mathnawī form composed by Khusrau, was written, as we have seen above, at the request of Kaiqobād after the poet's return from Oudh where he had stayed with Khān-i-Jahān, the governor of Oudh, for two years. The poet completed it in Ramaḍān 688 H., at the age of thirty-six, after hard labour of three months and was handsomely rewarded by the king for it.[1] Later on, when he was almost forty, Khusrau added another section to the poem to serve the purpose of both an introduction as well as a conclusion. He tells us in it that the number of the verses in the poem is 3944 and that as he had not counted them formerly the result had been a decrease in the number at the hands of careless scribes and so he thought it well to specify the number definitely.[2]

The poem, whose main theme is a quarrel between Bughrā Khān, the son of Balban, and Kaiqobād, the son of the former who succeeded his grandfather to the throne of Delhi, and their meeting and reconciliation on the bank of the river Sarū or Sarjū, has been thoroughly analysed by Cowell in the J.A.S.B. (1860, p. 225 seq.) and translations of some interesting passages have been made by Elliot (iii, 524 seq.). I do not, therefore, intend to go into details here, but shall confine myself to a general survey of the work.[3]

Khusrau, as he says himself in the supplementary section referred to above, had long cherished the ambition of writing a master-piece in mathnawī form. He had trodden assiduously and with remarkable success in the foot-prints of the famous qaṣīda writers, and the composers of ghazals. Mathnawī was still a region unexplored by him. He was alive to the greatness of this particular art and was fully conscious of the great genius of its most renowned exponent, Niẓāmī of Ganja.[4] But he was at the same time conscious of his

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1 Qirān-us-Sa'dain (Lucknow, 1885), p. 174. The poet gives the name here as قران نامهٔ سعدین, but in the opening verse the name is قران السعدین (p. 2). Another alternative name is مجمع الاوصاف Cowell (p. 238) gives the age as 37.

2 See p. 179 :

من چونکردم عددش از نخست　　کم شد و سرمایه نماندش درست
گشت ضرورت که کنونش بعقد　　بستم و دادم بامینان نقد الغ

3 I have, moreover, availed myself of most of the historical information contained in the poem in the second chapter. Elliot's translations are interesting, but unfortunately often faulty.

4 Qirān-us-Sa'dain, p. 180 seq.

own adaptable genius and wanted to match his strength with the old giant, so that when Kaiqobād requested him to write the story of his meeting with his father, he found an opportunity of trying his hand at the new game.[1] Yet Khusrau's love of originality and his contempt of mere plagiarism in thought or style, urged him to infuse a new spirit into the old art, to seek out for himself a style both original and striking.[2] He started with industry and care to piece together a series of descriptive poems into a united whole. His mathnawī, when it was completed was like a picture composed of figures painted separately and independently and then put together, with a suitable background, to represent the scene the artist wanted to depict. It was a difficult task, and it is wonderful that he has succeeded so well. There may, of course, be here and there, a figure that is out of place, another that has been too much elaborated, still another that has been given an unnecessary prominence, but on the whole, there is such harmony and unity as only a very skilful artist could impart to the picture.

The theme of the poem was not a very attractive one. An unnatural quarrel between a father and his son had very little of romance or heroic glitter in it, and the poet wanted to hide the defect by the wonderful pen-pictures that abound in the work. He says himself: 'As the subject had little of interest in it and its skeleton was devoid of life, I was forced to write descriptions so that I have almost lost sight of the object of the poem. On its face I painted the mole of artistic affectation, so that perchance it may appear beautiful'.[3]

Khusrau seems to have been criticised by his contemporaries rather severely on the production of this poem. He himself had, moreover, grave misgivings about its worth, but any impartial reviewer would admit that the

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1 Khusrau denies vehemently that he wrote the poem for any monetary reward. Eternal fame, he avers, was his only motive. (Q.S., p. 181.) He, of course, got a reward from the king and accepted it 'for a pearl cannot be thrown back to the ocean'.

2 بود در اندیشهٔ من چندگاه   کز دل دانندهٔ حکمت بناه
چند صفت گویم و آبش دهم   مجمع اوصاف خطابش دهم
باز نمایم صفت هرچه هست   شرح دهم معرفت هرچه هست
بفگنم از جیب گهرها به پیش   تاجش خود سازم و دامان خویش
طرز سخن را روش نو دهم   سکهٔ این ملک بخسرو دهم
نو کنم اندازهٔ رسم کهن   پس روی پیشروان سخن

3 Q.S., pp. 192-193:

چون سخن از لطف نشانی نداشت   کالبدش صورت جانی نداشت

poem is a fine piece of artistic poetry, as original as it is vigorous. It is, perhaps, tiresome as a story, but its component parts are full of charm and. interest, and are in some cases of great aesthetic and historic importance. Such are, for instance, the descriptions of Delhi, the punishment of the Mongols, the triumphal arches, the singing girls, the musical instruments, the presents exchanged between Bughrā Khān and Kaiqobād, the dishes on the royal table, and the different kinds of boats used.

The most original feature, however, of the poem is the introduction of abyāt-i-silsila to serve as headings for the different chapters and of a number of ghazals each of which echoes the sentiment of the chapter immediately preceding it and serves to relieve the monotony of the mathnawī.[1]

The poem is written in the hexametric sarī', the metre of the Makhzan-ul-Asrār of Niẓāmī and the Matla'-ul-Anwār of the poet himself.

The poem has been highly praised by most of the critics and in fact it is, in some respects at least, the finest mathnawī written by Khusrau. It was lithographed with a marginal commentary in Lucknow in 1885. The edition is complete and tolerably correct. A second lithographed edition was published recently in Aligarh.

The Historical Mathnawīs (*Continued*).

(7) *Miftaḥ-ul-futūḥ*.

(The Key to Success or the Initial Victories.)

Miftāh-ul-futūh,[2] the second of Khusrau's historical mathnawīs, was completed by the poet on the 2nd of Jumād II in the year 690 H. and describes four victories achieved by Jalāluddīn Fīrūz Khaljī within the course of one year. The poem, comparatively a small one, forms as we have already seen, part of the poet's third dīwān, the Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl,[3] but its length and importance make it pre-eminently an independent poem and, as such, worth a separate consideration. Yet as Sir John Elliot has given a full analysis with translations of extracts[4] and as I have already utilized most of the ma-

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1 Khusrau was certainly the first poet to introduce *true* ghazals into a mathnawī and thus to take away some of the sing-song monotony of the metre. Gibb ascribed the credit to Sheykhī, but that Turkish poet died in 855 H., 130 years after the death of Khusrau. (See History of the Ottoman Poetry I, 309-310.) The ghazals have been selected from the various diwāns of the poet.

2 The poet gives the name and date himself in the concluding verses.

زده فتحش می اندر جام کردم　　　که مفتاح الفتوحش نام کردم

3 See supra.

4 Elliot(iii,534-44). The translations however, are far from very accurate,

terial contained in the poem, I shall confine myself here to a few general remarks.

This poem, like the 'Ashīqa, is written in the hexametric hazaj (maḥdhūf) and like the Qirān-us-Sa'dain has its rubrics in verse.[1] The style is extremely simple and presents a striking contrast to the other two mathnawīs. It is more like the plain, matter-of-fact style of certain short mathnawīs scattered through Khusrau's dīwāns. But there are here and there descriptive passages of quaint charm, beautiful in their simplicity. Such is, for instance, the description of the rajah's palace at Jhāin, or the description of the festive arrangements made for the reception of the king in Delhi on his victorious return from his campaigns.

The poem opens with the praise of God, and the Prophet and a long panegyric on Fīrūz Khaljī. It then describes that king's accession to the throne on the 3rd of Jumād II, in 689 H. and his successes against Malik Chhajju, the rebellious governor of Karra, the rajahs of Oudh, the Mongols and the rajah of Jhāin. The poet narrates the events with scrupulous exactness. He says himself: 'When I began this poem and prepared my pen to write, I adorned it (with various artifices), for that is indispensable in writing verse, but when I thought of adding what was untrue, truth came and held my hand. My mind also did not relish the idea of mixing lies with truths, for although false exaggerations may impart charm to a poem, truth is an admirable thing.'

Khusrau concludes the poem with prayers for the king and a hope that the king would recognize the worth of his service which should earn for him an eternal fame.[2] He had, he adds, only three things in mind when he wrote the poem, viz. to show his gratefulness to the beneficent monarch, to leave behind a lasting relic and, through the everlasting name of the king, earn an immortality for himself.

The poem is found in most of the manuscripts of Khusrau's Kulliyāt.

(8) *The 'Ashīqa*

(The Story of Khiḍr Khān and Dewal-rānī)

The 'Ashīqa or 'Ishqiyya, as it is sometimes called,[3] forms the third book of the series of historical mathnawīs composed by Khusrau. The poem of

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1 The first runs :

گفتار در ثنای خداوند دادگر   کو باز میکند در فیروزی و ظفر

2 Elliot (iii, 543) gives, in his translation, another passage after this conclusion containing the praises of 'Alāuddīn Khaljī. That passage has nothing to do with this poem, but forms part of a separate poem.

3 Another name is Khiḍar Khān-o-Dewalrānī, and still another Manshūr-i-Shāhī as the poet says :

بحمد الله که از عون الهی   به پایان آمد این منشور شاهی

which the central theme is the romantic love and the tragic fate of Khiḍr Khān and the beautiful princess Devaldī, was finished by the poet in the month of Dhulq'ad 715 H., [1] but later on, in the reign of Ghiyāthuddīn Tughlaq another chapter was added to it [2] The poet had first brought the stoy to a close with the happy marriage of Khiḍr Khān to Devaldī. When, however, the prince had been slain by his merciless brother Mubārak Shāh who in his turn had succumbed to the treacherous sword of his Parwār favourite Khusrau Khān, Khusrau took up the narrative again and finished it, by the addition of 319 lines to the former 4,200, with the description of 'Alāuddīn's illness, his estrangement from his son, the latter's confinement in the fortress of Gwaliyar, Kāfūr's treachery in blinding him, Muhārak Shāh's unkind and monstrous demand[3] and the final murder of the unfortunate prince together with his brothers Shādī Khān and Farīd Khān [4]

The poem is altogether different in style and spirit from the Qirān-us-Sā'dain. The Poet had in the latter to make an epic out of a silly incident and had to call to his aid all the various artifices of the Persian verse to give it a touch of the picturesque, the romantic and the heroic. His style in it is, consequently, elegant but affected, picturesque but elaborate. In the 'Ashīqa, the poet found a much more congenial and promising subject to try his skill on. It was, moreover, as a labour of love that Khusrau undertook to write the romance. The unhappy prince had a charming personality. He was hrave, handsome and generous, a great patron of letters and a disciple of the saint Niẓāmuddīn Auliya. Khusrau had, naturally enough, the utmost esteem and affection for this accomplished prince, so that when he was one day called to his presence and the prince gave him a rough draft of the story of his love for the Rajput princess requesting him to turn it into verse, Khusrau started the work with eager industry.[5] He had already written the five mathnawīs of the Khamsa and had consequently acquired a proficiency and skill in writing this form of verse such as has rarely been equalled. Yet it took him a little more than four months to complete the poem,[6] a fact which shows how patiently and with what loving care Khusrau wrote it.

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1 'Ashīqa (I.O. MS., 1215, f 158*b*).

2 Khusrau mentions no date of this addition but it was certainly made after the death of Mubārak Shāh, as the poet could not conceivably have called him cruel (بیمهر) in his lifetime.

3 For the surrender of Devaldī which, of course, Khiḍr Khān refused with due contempt.

4 See supra

5 I.O. MS. of Kull yāt, No. 1187, f. 636.

6 'Ashīqa (I.O.MS., 1215), f. 158 :

بقدر چار ماه و چند روزی   فروزان شد چنان گیتی فروزی

The metre selected by the poet for this ma<u>th</u>nawī is the hexametric hazaj (maḥ<u>dh</u>ūf) [1] that is continued througout the poem without any variations. There are no rubrics in verse and although there are numerous passages of amatory verse (<u>gh</u>azal) they are not in the true lyric style.

The poem opens, as usual, with the praise of God, who is aptly described in this case as the Creator of Beauty and Love,[2] that of the Prophet and the saint Niẓāmuddīn. This is followed by a panegyric on 'Alāuddīn <u>Kh</u>aljī, whom the poet gives bits of advice with a candour and a courage truly astonishing, warning him against the evil consequences of tyranny, injustice and indulgence in wine. The poet then turns to the country of Hindustan describes briefly its conquest by the Mohammedans, gives short, but wonderfully accurate and valuable pen-sketches of the kings that had reigned before the time of 'Alāuddīn; and praises the language of India. He then sings of the calm and prosperity, peace and unity of belief [3] prevailing in India during the reign of 'Alāuddīn, mentions his successes against the Mongols, and his conquests in the south of India. Then the real story commences with the conquest of Gujarat by Ulu<u>gh</u> <u>Kh</u>ān and the capture of Kanwlādī, her longing for her daughter Dewaldī, the expedition sent by the king to bring that princess, her arrival in the royal palace and the commencement of <u>Kh</u>iḍr <u>Kh</u>ān's love for her. The story is well-known and can be told in a few words.

According to Khusrau the princess loved <u>Kh</u>iḍr <u>Kh</u>ān as intensely as he loved her and the two confided their secret to certain confidants who helped them to communicate with and see each other frequently. The mother of the prince, however, disapproved of their love and persuaded the king to send Devaldī to a different residence in the Red Palace.[4] She at the same time arranged <u>Kh</u>iḍr <u>Kh</u>ān's marriage with her brother Alp <u>Kh</u>ān's daughter and the marriage was duly celebrated in spite of the disinclination of the prince. Khiḍr <u>Kh</u>ān, however, could not forget Devaldī and pined for her, so that

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1 I.e. مفاعیلن | مفاعیلن | فعولن

u—— | u—— | u——

(See Blochmann : Prosody, p. 31.)

2 The opening verse is :

سرنامه بنام آن خداوند   که خوبانرا بدلها داد پیوند

3 Among the Muhammadans, of course. Some of the verses would seem to imply that Christians, Jews, and Magians were not tolerated.

4 Qaṣr-i-La'l. 'Alāuddīn's usual residence was the Qaṣr-i-Hazār-sutūn in Sīri.

his mother alarmed at his grief at last consented to his marriage with his beloved, and the two lovers were happily united.

When 'Alāuddīn fell ill, Kāfūr as we have seen above, managed to exile Khiḍr Khān to Gwaliyar where his sole solace and comfort was the sweet company of his faithful wife, Devaldī. Nothing could excel the tender devotion with which she nursed her husband when the tyrant Kāfūr blinded him, and her grief and sorrow for his sad plight was unbounded. When, after the assassination of Kāfūr, Mubārak Shāh ascended the throne of Delhi, he soon managed to get hold of a base excuse to end the life of Khiḍr Khān—the latter's refusal to hand over to him his wife Devaldī. The prince fell beneath the sword of a monstrous slave to be wept and mourned by his aged mother and his devoted wife and was buried in a tower in the fortress.[1] Khusrau is silent as to the fate of Devaldī. Elliot's translation of the narrative here is quite misleading and his conclusion that Devaldī was wounded while other ladies of the ḥarem were slaughtered is utterly wrong. The poet says nothing of the sort. Khusrau, as usual, concludes with verses in which he moralizes on the affairs of the world and speaks wistfully of his own life spent in the pursuit of poetry.

The romance is unique in Persian literature in more than one respect. In the first place it has for its theme a contemporary event, all the characters in it are real persons whom the poet knew familiarly, and he had seen with his own eyes all the incidents he describes. The story, secondly, belongs to the domain of history, not mythology which latter was the favourite subject of the former writers, and yet it has all the charm, all the romance and all the piquancy of the older stories. The facts of history narrated with great fidelity have been woven round with such a rich mass of fresh fancies and variegated imagery that the whole forms a peerless specimen of the masterpieces of romantic literature. The entire poem, thirdly, breathes of patriotism, the artist's love for the land of his birth. It is fragrant with the smell of the kewrā, the karnā, the champak and the hundreds of sweet Indian flowers and spices, and is luminous with the bright Indian sun and the pale, cool,moonlight. The poet sprinkles here and there words of Indian origin that blend beautifully with Persian and give to the poem a distinction and a peculiar elegance.[2] It is itself like the Indian beauties who, as Khusrau says, are not like the pink

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1 f. 148 (MS. No. 1215).

بجی مندر که بُرجی زان حصار است　　شهی را کاندران منزل مزار ست

درآن بردند شان ریزان ز چشم آب　　که خسپند اندران شاهان خوش خواب

This would show that there was the tomb of some king there already.

2 e.g. Sanghāsan (a palanquin), the names of Indian cloths like Deogiri, etc. the names of Indian musical instruments, etc.

and white beauties of Khallukh and Yaghmā, having colour without sweetness, cold as a block of ice, but have grace and elegance, warmth and charm.[1]

Fourthly, the small tales with which the poet illustrates his points are original and instructive and at the same time very interesting. Throughout the poem there are passages of beautiful verse, full of pathos, of love, of passion and wistful longing that can scarcely be matched even from the pages of Niẓāmī's famous Khamsa and the poet shows a knowledge of the working of human hearts, the mysterious ways of young persons in love, and the jealous care of parents, that is really astonishing. My only regret is that there is no space here to give a few specimens from the poem.[2] Elliot has translated most of the passages that are of historical importance, although, like all others of his translations, they are often very incorrect.

(9) *The Nuh Sipihr.*

"نُه سپهر"

(The Nine Skies.)

Nuh Sipihr, the fourth historical mathnawī by Khusrau, was completed in the month of Jumād I, 718 H., when the poet was almost 67[3] year of age, and celebrates the glories of Mubārak Shāh Khalji's reign. The poem is divided into nine parts of unequal lengths each being named a 'sipihr' peculiar to one of the nine heavenly bodies, headed by an introductory verse and concluded by a ghazal. It contains 4,509 hemistiches.[4]

The poem opens with the praise of God and the Prophet, a description of the latter's mi'rāj or ascension and a long eulogy of Nizāmuddīn Auliya wherein the poet emphasizes the necessity of a religious and spiritual guide for every novice setting forth on the path of virtue and describes his own

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In fact the poet says hat Khiḍr Khān's draft of the story contained many Hindui words and phrases which he omitted in the poem as they would not have gone well with Persian.

1 'Ashīqa.

2 See, for instance, the passage where Devaldī camforts herself by the thought that she is still young and beautiful ; that descriptive of her grief when the prince was blinded (f. 139, MS. No. 1215) ; that where the first meeting of the lovers is described and so on.

3 Cf. Elliot, iii, 566, and Shibli, II, p. 141. Both of them give the age as 65. But as the poem was written in 718 and Khusrau was born in 651, the correct figure is 67. He says himsef, moreover, that he was nearer seventy than sixty when he finished the poem : "عمر از شصت به هفتاد قریب"

4 مصراع, not full verses or couplets.

felicity and success through the spiritual guidance of his pīr.[1]

Sipihr I.—This is followed by a panegyric on Mubārak Shāh and a description of the incident that occasioned the composition of the mathnawī.[2] Then follows a description of the king's ascension to the throne on the 24th of Muharram 716 H., and the favourable positions of the stars at that auspicious moment.[3] The poet then turns to the first campaign of Mubārak Shāh against Rāghū, the rebellious and pretentious minister of Rāi Rām of Deogir, and concludes the first sipihr with the return of Khusrau Khān to the royal camp. The metre of this sipihr is the octametric mutaqārib (mahdhūf).[4]

Sipihr II.—The second sipihr opens with an account of Mubārak Shāh's buildings, the completion of the New Palace constructed by his father, 'Alāuddīn, and the erection of a large congregational mosque.[5] There follows a long and detailed description of Khusrau Khān's campaign against Tilang and Warrangal, his victories and his triumphal entry into Delhi after the successful termination of the campaign.[6] The mosque was now completed and a lofty pillar of polished red stone was attached to it.[7] The poet then sings the praises of Delhi, declares its superiority to Baghdad, Cairo, Khorasan, Tirmidh Tabriz, Sipāhān, Bukhara, and Khwārizm and concludes with a few verses of Sāqī Nāmah and a ghazal. The sipihr is written in a running and pleasant metre, the octametric mutaqārib (salīm), an unusual one for a mathnawī.[8]

The Third Sipihr is, perhaps, the most interesting of the nine. It consists almost entirely of the praises of India and contains valuable bits of information about its climate, its flowers, its birds and other animals, its sciences, religions and languages. The poet has taken pains to prove India's superiority to Khorasan and is very enthusiastic about the land of his birth. 'Why', says

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1 See Supra.

2 See Supra.

3 Cf. Qirānus-Sa'dain.

4 فعولن | فعولن | فعولن | فعل twice. See Blochmann Prosody. p. 61.
ᴗ—— | ᴗ—— | ᴗ—— | ᴗ—

5 Professor Habib calls the mosque Masjid-i-Mīrī (p. 40). No mosque of this name or in fact any mosque ascribed to Mubārak Shāh is in existence now.

6 See supra and cf. Elliot, iii, 338-361.

7 I.O. MS., 1187, f. 707*b*. Apparently no trace of this pillar exists now.

8 فعولن | فعولن | فعولن | فعولن twice. Cf. Blochmann's Prosody,
ᴗ—— | ᴗ—— | ᴗ—— | ᴗ——

p. 60. Cf. Haft Asmān, p. 5 where only one form of the octametric mutaqārib is described to be in use for mathnawī (i.e. mahdhūf or maqsūr).

he, 'some may ask me, all this preference for India? It is because India is the land of my birth and training and also because its ruler is a mightly king like Mubārak Shāh.' Yet a little moved, perhaps, by the general trend of his compatriots' affection for the lands of their origin, Persia and Turkestan, he offers the following excuse for lavishing all this wealth of poetic imagery on India: 'What praise can there be for what has already been so highly praised? Does a houri need the services of a tire-woman? Praise is an art only when by means of it you turn the jarring noise of a caravan bell into a melody of the organ.'[1] The metre of the sipihr, again, is a very difficult and uncommon one. In fact, as he claims himself, no poet had written ma<u>th</u>nawī in that metre before his time, and as far as I am aware none has written since. It is the hexametric maṭwī form of the rajaz, that imparts a peculiar earnestness and charm to the verse.[2]

<u>Kh</u>usrau first starts to give seven arguments to prove that India is Paradise, and shows its superiority to other countries in point of climate, flowers and fruits. He then shows the superiority of Indians in science and wisdom over all other nations. 'I know', he says, 'that in this land lie concealed wisdom and ideas beyond compute. Greece has been famous for its philosophy, but India is not devoid of it. All branches of philosophy, if one examines carefully, are found here. Logic, astrology, kalām[3]—in fact every science, except "faqr"[4] is found....Physics, mathematics, astronomy, divination of the past and the future are known......In divinity (or metaphysics الهیات) alone the Hindus are confused, but, then, so are all the other peoples. Though they do not believe in our religion, many of their beliefs are like ours. They believe, for instance, in the unity and eternity of God, His power to create after nothingness, etc., and so are better than the Dualists or those who believe in Father and Son, the anthropomorphists, the Sabians,[5] the materialists[6] or the Mushabbih.[7] They worship, no doubt, stones, beasts, plants

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1 I.O. M.S., 1187, f. 709*b*.

2 مُفْتَعِلَانْ | مُفْتَعِلَانْ | مُفْتَعِلُنْ twice. <u>Kh</u>usrau says: 'A strange form
—◡◡— | —◡◡— | —◡◡—

has this pearl-like verse for an uncongenial metre has been filled with pearls.......... Who can race in this course but me? Who can relate stories in this metre except me?.. This new metre I have invented myself and from my own mind have I poured jewels into it.' (I.O. MS., f. 43*b*).

3 He means probably metaphysics, generally 'kalām' is dogmatic theology.

4 This science, he says, is peculiar to Islam. We can render faqr by 'sufism' or 'asceticism'.

5 A<u>kh</u>tariyān, or the star-worshippers.

6 Unṣuriyān.

7 Those who liken God to visible things.

and the sun, but they recognize that these things are creations of God and adore them simply because their forefathers did so.' He then gives ten instances of the Indians' superiority. (1) Knowledge and learning are common and widespread among them. (2) They can speak all the languages of the world clearly. (3) Learned men from all parts of the world have come from time to time to study in India, while no Brahmin has ever travelled to any place outside India. Abū Ma'shār, the famous astronomer,[1] for example, came to India and learnt his science for ten years at Benares. (4) The science of 'hindsa' and the numerical system originated in India. Hindsa was undoubtedly invented by a Brahmin named Āsā, whence Hind-āsā shortened into Hindasa.[2] (5) The wonderful book of wisdom Kalīla and Damna (Panja Tantara) was composed in India. The book has been translated into Persian, Turki, Tāzī (Arabic) and Darī. . (6) The game of chess is an invention of India. (7) Chess and the Damna, both of Indian origin, have become popular with all other nations. (8) Indian music, the fire that burns heart and soul, is superior to the music of any other country. Foreigners, even after a stay of thirty or forty years in India, cannot play a single Indian tune correctly. (9) Indian music charms not only men but beasts also. Deer have been hypnotised and hunted simply by music. (10) Finally there is in no other land an enchanter, a wizard in poetry like Khusrau, albeit an humble admirer of the king.

Khusrau then makes some very interesting observations about the languages of India. He says that he knows several languages. Of these Arabic has a well-formulated grammar. Turkish also has a grammar written chiefly for the benefit of offcials for no one ever learns Turkish, Rūmī, or Darī for the acquirement of knowledge.[3] In Persian, no one has yet formulated a grammatical system, and he himself would have done so but for the fact that this would be a thankless job, for every one knows Persian well and does not require to study its grammar. Three languages are very important, viz. (1) Arabic, although it is a hard language and even a clever man finds it diffcult to acquire proficiency in it. (2) The Persian of Persia, 'eloquently sweet with the flavour of Shiraz'. (3) Turkish Persian, i.e. Qāniqly, Oighūr, and Ghuzz that originated in Qipchāq and Yamak and spread in other lands 'gaining lustre like the moon'. After a few remarks about the spread and intermixture of languages, he turns to India, where, he says, the language

1 Of Balkh 886H. See Nicholson, Lit. Hist. of the Arabs p. 361.

2 The derivation is interesting. By 'Hindasa', Khusrau apparently means arithmetic and not geometry which is more correctly rendered by 'Handasa'.

3 This shows that in Khusrau's time Turkish was not considered to be a literary language.

originally was Hindūi.[1] With the advent of the Ghūrīs and the Turks who spoke Persian that language was learnt by all and sundry. All languages have some peculiar merit and charm, although, of course, Arabic, being the language of the Koran, holds a unique position. 'Now in India every province has a peculiar idiom for the expression of various thoughts. There is Sindhi, Lahorī, Kashmīrī, Kabarī,[2] Dhur-Samundrī,[3] Tilangī, Gujarī, Ma'barī, Gouri, Bengali, and Oudhi, but in Delhi and all around in its suburbs the language is the same Hindūi that has been current here for all forms of speech since olden times.[4] Then there is another language, used exclusively by Brahmins, unknown to the multitude and named Sanskrit since ancient days. It is known only to Brahmins and even all Brahmins have not a full knowledge of this (difficult) tongue,[5] for it has strange forms of grammatical irregularities in its orthography, syntax and literature.[6] They have four religious books which serve as the guiding principle for all their actions.[7] These are called "Bīds" and contain stories of gods, although like the "bid"[8] they bear no fruit. All other stories and romances of theirs, their books, letters and documents that require elegance of diction and display of skill, are written and construed in this language by the Brahmins and other cultured scholars.[9] This language, pure as a pearl, is inferior to Arabic but is superior to Darī.' (I.O. MS., 1187, f. 718.)

آن است زبانی بصفت در دری   کمتر از عربی و برتر از دری

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1 Elliot, iii, 562 translates ths passage, but his translation is hopelessly corrupt here.

2 Perhaps the language of Kaber.

3 i.e. the language of Dharvasamudra.

4 This remark is very important and requires special attention. Cf. Elliot who has missed the sense altogether. The poet says clearly :

دهلی و پیرامنش اندر همه حد   این همه هندیست کز ایام کهن

عامه بکار است بهرگونه سخن

5 Elliot, iii, 583 'A Brahman knows it, but a Brahmani woman does not know a word of it', which is absurd.

برهمنش داند و هر برهمنی   نیز ندارد حد ز انسان سخنی

6 'Ilal (pl. of 'Illat, literally an infirmity).

7 چار کتابست است بدین مدّ شان * کاصل عمل شد بقبول وردّ شان : Elliot, iii, 563:— 'which they are constantly in the habit of repeating'.

8 Reed or cane. He means they are useless—for a Believer, of course.

9 This is, as far as I can make out, the sense of the original, which is not very explicit here. Elliot's translation is certainly absurd. The text reads thus ;

Some curious accounts of Indian animals and their sagacity follow this. There are the talking birds, like the parrot and the magpie (shārak), other birds whose cries betoken events, the crow for instance, about whose speech several volumes have been written; the peacock, the wonderful bird which does not pair in the natural way, a fluid from the eye of the male swallowed by the female being sufficient for fertilization,[1] and other birds who have been trained to perform wondrous tricks, horses trotting to music, goats performing balancing feats, the extremely manlike monkey and the elephant so sagaciously human in its ways. The poet says about the lore of birds' and animals' speech: 'I had learnt the science to such an extent that I could understand birds and beasts. I had also experienced how the gods tell us news about one through them. In fact I saw such mysteries that if I were to explain them I shall cram two volumes. But as this lore is banned by the Prophet's religion, I closed my ears to those evil talks.'

He then gives some instances of magic and sorcery as practised in India, and concludes: 'All this is sorcery and as such, unreal and eerie,[2] but there is one thing of which you cannot deny the reality—the dying of Hindus out of devotion either with sword or with fire, a woman dying willingly for her dead (husband) and a man for an idol or a rich man. This is, no doubt, forbidden in Islam, but behold what a noble thing it is! If the Law permitted it, many a blessed one would die eagerly like that......'[3]

The sipihr concludes with an account of the defeat and capture of Harpāldeo and the festivities on the triumphal return of the royal armies from Arangal.

The Fourth Sipihr, written in hexametric ramal (maḥdhūf),[4] is consecrated to Jupiter. It opens with a beautiful description of a morning when Iqbāl

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هرچه دگر قصه و افسانه شان　　یا کتب و نامه چو (و ؟) پروانهٔ شان
آنچه تعلق بعبارتگری　　دارد و آئین هنر گستری
حرف وی آنجا بود از برهمنان　　وز ادب آموخته دانسته منان
(وران، فنان؟)

1 This statement by Khusrau excited a good deal of controversy amongst his admirers. See Majālis-ul-Nafāis of Nawāi (J.A., 1861, 329) for how Jāmī and Nawāi discussed the statement and how Jāmī who was inclined to credit it was convinced of its improbability by a timely incident.

2 Asfūn-o-afsāna.

3 See Elliot, iii, 563-4 for the magical feats, although his translation is ridiculously confused at places.

4 فاعلاتن | فاعلاتن | فاعلات Cf. Blochmann, 43.
— ⏑ — — | — ⏑ — — | — ⏑ —

(Fortune) visits the poet and exhorts him to write advices for his friends. He starts to do so, and with his characteristic frankness, addresses the king, the heir-apparent, the maliks and other offcials, the soldiers and the civilians. The sipihr ends with a ghazal.

The Fifth Sipihr is consecrated to Bahrām, the hunter of the sky, and is composed in the hexametric khafīf (makhbūn and maḥdhūf).[1] Beginning with a glowing encomium on India's winter, the sipihr describes a hunting trip of the king and contains a highly artistic dialogue between the royal bow and arrow which beginning in mutual compliments ends in a hot and vituperative quarrel that is ultimately stopped by the chief armour-bearer[2] of the king. A Sāqī Nāmah, followed by a ghazal, ends the sipihr.

In the Sixth Sipihr, dedicated to the sun, the poet employs the hexametric hazaj (maqṣūr or maḥdhūf)[3] and describes very picturesquely the birth of Prince Muḥammad, the son of Mubārak Shāh on Thursday, the 23rd of Rabī' I, 718 H., and his early training, and prophesies great things for the august baby. A rather long Sāqī Nāmah and a ghazal bring the sipihr to a close.

The Seventh Sipihr, composed in the hexametric ramal (maqṣūr)[4] is ascribed to Venus and so the poet aptly enough mentions in it the splendours of spring and the new year's day, the festivities on the birth of Prince Muḥammad[5], the gorgeous arches and pavilions with paintings in bright colours, the beautiful dancing girls, Persian and Indian,[6] the 'Jashn' attended by all the nobles of the realm, and wine and musical instruments.

In the Eighth Sipihr, the poet employs the hexametric hazaj (akhrab, maqbūḍ and maḥdhūf).[7] The sipihr dedicated to the planet Mercury, is a

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1 فاعلاتن | مفاعلن | فعلن twice. Cf. Blochmann, 58.
—⏑—— | —⏑—— | ⏑ ⏑—

2 Sar-salīḥ apparently, Sar-silāḥdār.

3 مفاعیلن | مفاعیلن | فعولن twice. Cf. Blochmann, 31.
⏑——— | ⏑——— | ⏑——

4 فاعلاتن | فاعلاتن | فاعلن twice. Cf. *Ibid.*, 43.
—⏑—— | —⏑—— | —⏑—

5 This sipihr is thus really a continuation of the preceding one.

6 The description is very picturesque. The Indian girls, especially with sandaled and bejewelled foreheads, pearls filling the partings of their hair, diamond pendants in their noses, clad in fine Deogiri, present a charming picture.

7 مفعول | مفاعلن | فعولن twice. Blochmann, pp. 32-33.
——⏑ | ⏑—⏑— | ⏑——

rather tiresome but instructive account of the game of chaugān as played by the king and contains a dialogue between the stick and the ball, the latter posing as a lover. Some passages of the dialogue are tenderly passionate and are reminiscent of similar passages in the Majnūn-o-Leylā. The sipihr concludes with a Sāqi Nāmah and a g͟hazal.

The last and the Ninth Sipihr, consecrated to the moon, is in the hexametric ramal (mak͟hbūn and maḥd͟hūf).[1] The moon, says the poet, is so near the earth, that he may rise up to it and remove her rust with the brightness of his poetry. He then describes a visit paid him by Mercury and how that planet acknowledged his superiority. He then speaks of the excellence of poetry and boasts of the high rank achieved by the poets of India of that age.[2] Of himself particularly he says: 'The proof (of the excellence of my verse) is this that only attractive poetry can catch the imagination of the world like the sun and the moon. For as it is good, the multitude as well as the elite are rapt in its enjoyment. One copies a g͟hazal, another memorizes it and a third solaces himself with it in his griefs......In the present age amongst the Persians only two poets of note have appeared: Sa'dī and Humām, both of whom are perfect adepts in g͟hazal writing. But if you look for other branches of poetry you will find that their qaṣāid[3] are what they are[4] and I need hardly speak of other forms. My own poetry, however, is not bad. If there were any other nightingale in those countries, the world would have known of it. But as there is none, their roses do not smell. When we have thus disposed of the poets of Persia, let us drink to the glory of Delhi and this flowing magic!'[5] The poet concludes with excuses to the king for the faults in the poem, and thanks God for having spared him to complete it.[6] He gives here also the date of the composition and the number of verses in the poem.

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1 فاعلاتن | فاعلاتن | فعلن twice. Blochmann, 44.
—◡—— | —◡—— | ◡◡—

2 See supra.

3 Shi'r, which K͟husrau almost invariably uses in the sense of a qaṣīda.

4 He means 'are common-place, and ordinary'.

5 By 'the flowing magic' he means his own poetry.

"وقت دهلی خوش و این سحر روان"

6 He calls the poem here Sulṭān Nāmah, a title under which it has been described in some catalogues.

تا بدّر باری نوک خامه   بستم این زیور سلطان نامه

The ma<u>th</u>nawī is certainly a great masterpiece. The 'old Parrot of India'[1] gives in it some of the sweetest melodies that ever flowed from his lyre. The prospect of a high reward and more than that the thought that this was probably the last great poem he would live to write goaded the poet to do his best. He does actually pour out in it the pearls preserved in 'the bony casket replete with many a divine secret'.[2] The poem is full of a glow of satisfaction, a pride for the land of his birth, the glory of its monarch, and the triumph of his own genius. He handles historical facts like poetic fancies and knits them together with such fidelity, such skill and such perfect blending that an epic looks like a romance. The <u>gh</u>azals, written specially for the poem, are fine lyrics. The innovation of splitting the poem into several parts with different metres is an extremely happy idea. It serves to impart freshness and distinction to each part, and so although one may admit, perhaps, that the various parts of the poem look disconnected and independent, it would be cruel to describe the poem as 'a formless assortment of miscellaneous odds and ends, a painfully elaborate doxology........'[3]

The poem, in fact, is replete with things of immense historical and sociological interest and may safely be claimed to be a composition unique, in style and spirit, in the whole range of mathnawi literature—a poem which would amply repay a careful study and would be appreciated much better after a thorough perusal.

The poem has never been published, but manuscripts exist in several libraries.[4]

(10) *The Tu<u>gh</u>laq Nāmah.*

<u>Kh</u>usrau, according to several reliable authorities, wrote a fifth historical ma<u>th</u>nawī, detailing the events of the short reign of <u>Gh</u>iya<u>th</u>uddīn Tu<u>gh</u>laq Shāh.[5] The poet, as we know, lived to see the death of that monarch and the coronation of his son and heir, Muḥammad Tu<u>gh</u>laq, and so it is very likely that he did commence to write a history of Tu<u>gh</u>laq Shāh's reign to complete the series—to compose one more masterpiece before death sealed for ever

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1 He calls himself by that name in the poem. (S.1.):

خدایا چو خسرو درین بوستان   کہن طوطیی شد ز هندوستان

2 *Ibid.* (*S.* 6):

درین صندوق خسرو کاستخوانیست   فراوان تحفہای آسمانیست

3 Prof. Habib, p. 67.

4 The poem, edited by me, has since been published by the Islamic Research Association, Bombay. I have utilized I.O. MS., Nos. 1187 and 1218.

5 See Haft Iqlīm (under Delhi), where Amīn Rāzi gives the number of verses in the Tu<u>gh</u>laq Namah as 3000 ; Firishta, 1,132, who says the MSS. of the work were rare in his time ; Badaonī, I, 225 ; Hāji <u>Kh</u>alīfa (Flūgel).

the lips which old age and vicissitudes of life had failed to keep back from singing. But unfortunately the poem has apparently been lost to the world. That the poem was left incomplete is clear from what has been said about Emperor Jahāngīr ordering Hayātī, a poet of his court, to complete it, although it is not known whether Hayātī actually performed the by no means easy task.

A copy of the mathnawī was supposed to be in the possession of a gentleman in Delhi, but has evidently disappeared. The latest rumour is that it has found its way to Hyderabad.[1]

The loss of the Tughlaq Nāmah is great not so much from a historical point of view as from the literary standpoint. Tughlaq Shāh's reign was too brief to be of any great importance, but the poem, the last of the great master's compositions, would have provided another valuable specimen of the rich and matured verse of Khusrau's old age.

C. The Khamsa.

In his later career Khusrau started to write a replica to Niẓāmī's Khamsa[2] that had caught the fancy of all the contemporary poets and scholars, and had acquired an extraordinary fame in the eastern lands. The old master, taking for his model the Shāh Nāmah and the Yūsuf-o-Zuleykhā of Firdausī, had produced these five poems with such industry and care and had enriched them with such wealth of original conceits, quaint similes and metaphors, picturesque and melodious phrases and vigorous expressions as had rendered it one of the most valuable contributions to Persian poetry, and it was, consequently, not an easy task for even a poet of Khusrau's genius to reply to it successfully. In fact, Khusrau was fully conscious of the stupendousness of the task and had grave misgivings about his own capabilities, yet his fiery nature refused to acknowledge defeat, and his love of versatility goaded him to tread the tortuous path, cleared by Niẓāmī but untrodden by any other since his time.

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1 See Appendix.

2 All the five poems were dedicated separately to 'Alāuddīn There is no evidence, however, to show that the work was undertaken at that king's behest. The poet presented a complete manuscript of the Khamsa to Iftikhāruddīn, the prime minister (Ṣadr صدر) who, however, does not seem to have been very prompt in rewarding his labours, for Khusrau complains of this in a fragment. Baqīya, I.O. MS., 1187, f. 391*b*.

چرخ قد را بنده خسرو قصهٔ دارد که آن — با تو گوید تا بیابد اندران انصاف داد
خان والاچون بدولت عزم شهر خویش کرد — بس مراد خلق کاندر دامن مردم نهاد
هر کسی با یادگاری آمدو برد هرچه خواست — من که بردم یادگاری کس ز من ناورد یاد
پیشکش کردم بخدمت خمسه راو شد قبول — لیک نی یادآمدم دربذل ونی کس یاد داد الخ

That Khusrau undertook the task at the instance of the king or any of his nobles, we have no reasons to assume.[1] He was simply moved by the fame of the Khamsa to produce himself something that may acquire an equal renown in generations yet unborn and seems to have regretted that the idea did not occur to him when he was younger and his muse more vigorous. 'When first the diamond of my speech was sharp I knew not the pearl and pierced only shells, and now when I can know a ruby from a pebble, my bright mind has become dull.'[2]

But to a modern critic it would seem to be very fortunate that he did *not* think of this earlier—that he devoted his time and energy in the prime of his youth to producing something which is much more valuable than the romantic tales of the old times: Niẓāmī had told them well enough. It was fortunate again that Khusrau did not spend much of his time on what after all was a thankless job. He, perhaps, later on realized the comparative futility of his attempt and, getting tired of the monotonous mathnawī verse hurried through the task as soon as possible.[3] He was, moreover, severely criticized by his jealous contemporaries who scoffed at the ambitious idea and described his productions as 'a stew cooked in Niẓāmī's pot and a foolish self-conceit'.[4] His self-confidence and just pride in the vigour of his genius, however, helped him along and sometimes even carried him away to vainglorious boasting. 'The star of my poetry', he sang, 'has arisen high and has made Niẓāmī tremble in his grave'.[5]

Yet in his sober monents Khusrau could not but recognize the superiority of Niẓāmī. 'With this alphabet', he says, 'which may amuse children, I have written an imitation of the great master's work. If it is not sweet,

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1 'Alāuddīn Khaljī was too indifferent to letters to make such a request.

2 Nuh Sipihr (Introduction).

3 The whole Khamsa was finished within the course of a little more than two years. (698-701 H.)

4 The words are ascribed to 'Ubaid, a Persian poet who came to India and attached himself to Muḥammad Tughlaq's cortège when the latter was still a prince. (Badaoni, I, 223):

غلط افتاد خسرو را ز خامی   که سکباپخت دردیگ نظامی

5 Maṭla'-ul-anwār, p. 28 :—

کوکبهٔ خسرویم شد بلند   زلزله در گور نظامی فگند

A poet is said to have replied to it thus :

تیغ نظامی که بر آمد چو برق   از سر خسرو سر موی بود فرق
ماه رخش راست دو پیکر شدی   گر نشدی پنجهٔ پیرش چو درق

Haft Āsmān, p. 69,

there is music in it, if there is no life in it, there is a skeleton......From his birth-place Ganja he scattered out the five treasures, and with those five I want to match my own strength......so that the wise ones may say of me: "Bravo! thou worthy pupil of Niẓāmī".' 'The verse of Niẓāmī', he says elsewhere, 'is like a pearl in its purity and the whole world is full of the pearls sacattered by him'.[1]

This superiority, nevertheless, Khusrau ascribes to the fact that Niẓāmī wrote practically nothing beside the Khamsa in his whole life and his circums tances permitted him to devote all his time and energy to its perfection.[2] One would hardly concur with those of Khusrau's critics who described his Khamsa as trash, or on the other hand with such enthusiasts as have claimed that a single verse in it outweighs in merit the whole Khamsa of Niẓāmī.[3] More sensible critics like Jāmī and Nawāi in the old days and Shiblī in modern times have judged Khusrau's replica rightly: it is, as they say, the best imitation of Niẓamī's work, but considered as a whole, it falls short of the original. Yet, when we say an imitation we refer only to its form, for as we shall see later on, Khusrau has not abandoned his originality even in the Khamsa. He adheres scrupulously to the metres used by Niẓāmi and is faithful to the broad outlines of the romances, yet he takes considerable liberty with the smaller details and, what is more, is never guilty of plagiarism. There are, moreover, parts of his Khamsa which are as fine—if not finer—than any found in that of Niẓāmī, and Khusrau often shows himself to be a greater artist in the grouping and delineation of events. It is only in the wealth of beautiful similes and metaphors as well as in polished and elegant phraseology that Niẓāmī excels his imitator, and the fame that the first poem of Khusrau's Khamsa, the Malta'-ul-anwār acquired both in India and Transoxiana was due as much to its intrinsic merit as to the long-established prestige of its composer, although the poem was completed in the incredibly short space of a fortnight's time.[4]

After this brief introduation, we proceed to examine the five poems separately, beginning with the Maṭla'-ul-anwār.

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1 Qirān-us-Sa'dain, p. 188.

2 *Vide* Nuh Sipihr (concl.).

نظامی کآب حیوان ریخت در حرف   همه عمرش درین سرمایه شد صرف

Cf. also concl. of Majnūn-o-Leylā.

3 See Haft Āsmān, pp 67-68 The verse is:

Maṭla'-ul-ānwar (?)

قطرهٔ آبی نخورد ماکیان   تا نکند رو بسوی آسمان

4 See what Jāmī says in the introduction to his Tuḥfat-ul-aḥrār, about it....'In its delicate and fine ideas, it is such that the finest writers of the world acknowledge their inability to reply to it....'

(11) *Maṭla'-ul-anwār.*

This poem was completed by Khusrau in the year 698 H. in a fortnight[1] and is a reply to Niẓāmī's Makhzan-ul-asrār. It is written in the same metre as its prototype[2] and deals with practically the same themes. The whole poem has been divided into 20 chapters each comprising 125 couplets and ending in a story illustrative of its subject. The total number of verses including the introduction and the prologue is, as Khusrau says himself, three thousand three hundred and ten.

The poem opens with the praise of God, followed by three munājāts, three na'ts, panegyrics on Niẓamuddīn Auliya and 'Al uddīn Khaljī and a prologue giving the motif of the poem and describing the ecstatic experiences of the poet during a night and a morning and his turning with reluctant steps from the 'garden of reality' to the guidance of his teacher.[3] The poet explains that he proposes to talk of three things in the poem, namely, the Law, the Path and the Truth, and shows in the *first maqāla* the superiority of man over all other creations, his ability to rise to immeasurable heights through proper discipline and training, and the reality and nobility of the mission that has been entrusted to him in this world. *The second maqāla* deals with the necessity and advantage of knowledge, the dangers of ignorance and the discrimination between true scholars and such 'turbaned' hypocrites as have made their learning a means of worldly intrigue and consider it to be 'a talisman for capturing the affections of kings'.[4]

The third maqāla speaks of the virtues of speech and how best to utilize this gift. Truth and sincerity are essentials of speech.

In the fourth maqāla the poet speaks of the Unity of God and the five great principles (arkān) of Islam, i.e. the kalma-i-shahādat, the prayers, the zakāt, the fast of Ramaḍan and the pilgrimage to Mecca, and lays special stress on devotion and faith as distinct from formal observance of religious rites. Piety, the great struggle against Self, purging the mind of carnal desires, etc. form the theme of the *fifth maqāla.*

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1 Maṭla'-ul-anwār, 205. The date is given as 697 in some MSS.

2 Thus: مُفْتَعِلُن | مُفْتَعِلُن | فاعِلُن twice
—UU— | —UU— | —U—

3 The passage would seem to emphasize the necessity of a guide, however tempting an independent excursion into the domain of spiritualism may appear to a novice.

رو بسوی خواجهٔ و دل سوی دوست   هر دو یگانه شده در مغز و پوست

4 جادویٔ هست از پیٔ تسخیر شاه.

The sixth maqāla outlines the path of virtue and ṣūfism, advises to seek the society of saintly persons, warns against hypocritical teachers, and condemns the use of wine as a means to attaining spiritual ecstasy.[1]

The seventh maqāla speaks of the virtues of contentment and self-reliance and the futility of worldly ambitions.

Love, true and false, its importance in the lives of men, its dangers and hardships, the ways of the fair ones, and the purity of love form the subject of the *eighth maqāla* which is one of the most interesting of the 20 chapters.

The ninth maqāla deals with friendship and friends, the true friendship, its essentials, its importance and its conditions.

In the tenth maqāla the poet explains our duties towards our relatives, our parents and children.

The eleventh maqāla extols the importance of generosity and charity and of their proper use.

The twelfth maqāla consists of advices to soldiers and warriors, the virtues of courage and patience and of lenience and mercy to fallen foes.

The thirteenth maqāla contains some very frank and interesting bits of advice for kings and princes.

The fourteenth maqāla deals with honesty and dishonesty both in private as well as public life. The poet is especially bitter against hypocritical scholars and dishonest oficials.[2]

In the fifteenth maqāla the poet praises mercy, gentleness and patience and condemns anger, cruelty and injustice to our inferiors.

The sixteenth maqāla contains general maxims of morality and worldly conduct, while in *the seventeenth maqāla* the poet speaks of youth and old age which he, in a very picturesque passage, compares to spring and autumn respectively, advises young men to make the best of their youthful days ao to keep virtuous and straight, and counsels old persons to recognize the infirmities of old age and to renounce the practices of youth.

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1 This is rather interesting. Wine and other drugs were apparently used even in those days in India by some of the 'spirituals'.

2 Curiously enough Khusrau here warns the king against employing Hindus in large. numbers 'God forbid that the king's realm be again in the clutches of the black Hindus Numerous crows are a nuisance in a garden: it is better that there be but one mole on the cheek than that there be a thousand.'

باز مبادا که فتد ملک شاه   در قلم هندوکان سیاه
زاغ نشاید بچمن بیشمار   خال یکی به برخی نی هزار

In the eighteenth maqāla Khusrau deals with the transitoriness of life and the 'treachery of the sky', the old age, and the necessity for a really able and piothe preceptor. The subject is continued in the *nineteenth maqīla* which concludess in a very touching lament for his loneliness and the absence of friends. 'We also,' he says, 'had some one—a friend and a companion. Not a weed is now left of that garden. Why seek for the inmates? The very dwellings are no more! . . . . . . Those dead ones find not alas! the permission to come back from their distant abode! I die in longing for them—would that I were really dead and with them!'

The twentieth and the last maqala is devoted to women. It consists of advices to his daughter Maimūnah and to women in general. The poet speaks rather sceptically of the loyalty of women, advises them to observe the purdah, tells them the way to domestic peace and amity and winds up with a tirade against women of loose character.[1]

In the epilogue the poet speaks proudly of his work, condemns such jealous persons as shut their eyes to 'the splendour of this moon-like idol' and see only its defects. He acknowledges his debt to other poets and gives, as we have already seen, the date of composing the poem and the numbers of verses in it.[2] Khusrau's example led many of his successors to compose simiiar imitations of the Ma'kh zan-ul-asrār. The most notable of these is Jāmī's Tuḥfat-ul-aḥrār.

A lengthy list of these poems is given in the Haft Āsmān.[3]

The poem was lithographed in Lucknow in 1884 A.D., and later in Aligarh. Manuscript copies, along with the other four poems of the Khamsa are numerous and are found in most of the libraries.

(12) *Shīrīn-o-Khusrau.*

Shīrīn-o-Khusrau, the second poem of his Khamsa and corresponding to Khusraw-o-Shīrīn of Niẓāmī was completed by the poet in the beginning of Rajab 698 H. It is composed in the same metre as its model[4] and has four thousand one hundred and twenty-four couplets. It differs considerably, in details, from Niẓāmī's poem.

The work opens, as usual, with 'ḥamd' and n'at, the praise of Niẓāmuddin Auliyā, and an encomium on 'Alāuddīn Khaljī to whom the poem is dedicated.

1 Cf. Hasht Bihisht (Introduction).

2 *Vide* Supra.

3 See p. 1 et seq.

4 ᴗ— — — | ᴗ— — — | ᴗ— — twice.

مفاعيلن | مفاعيلن | فعولن

(خداوندا دلم را چشم بکشای به معراج یقینم راه بنمای)

The poet then talks of the mysteries of the universe and the importance of love, and begins the story with the death of Hurmuz and the accession to throne of Khusrau.[1]

Khusrau, growing jealous of the power of one of his nobles, Bahrām Chobina, marched on Madain, but the expedition proving unsuccessful he returned dejected and weary and his wise minister and companion Shāhpūr diverted him on his way telling him, among other wonderful things, of Shīrīn, the niece of the queen of Armenia—of her wonderful beauty and skill in riding and hunting. Khusrau, struck by this narrative paid Shīrīn a visit and the two fell deeply in love with each other. Soon after, however, Khusrau, went to Rūm where he married Maryam, the daughter of the Qaisar, with whose help he defeated Bahrām, who had to fly from Madain and seek refuge in Turkestan where he died shortly afterwards fighting for the Khāqān. Khusrau now ruled in peace, his people were prosperous and his power increased, so that the Qaiṣar growing afraid of him thought it prudent to transfer his treasures from Asia Minor to Abyssinia. Several boats full of these rich treasures were launched into the sea but a capricious breeze blew them off to the coast of Persia where Khusrau took possession of them and distributed their contents among his grateful subjects.[2] Maryam, neglected by Khusrau and shocked at the ill-will between him and her father, declined in health and died. Khusrau, was on the whole glad at her death for he thought he could now marry Shīrīn. He paid her a visit again, but the lovers quarrelled and Khusrau returned to Persia, sad and disappointed. He soon afterwards, however, married Shakar, a famous beauty of Ispahan. Shīrīn, meanwhile, met Farhād, who was really the son of the Emperor of China, but had renounced his heritage and taken to sculpture and art, and asked him to construct a canal for bringing in milk from one part of her country to another.[3] Farhād, who was smitten with the charms of Shīrīn started readily on this super-human task, asking in return nothing but an occasional glance at the beloved face of Shīrīn. Khusrau hearing of this, grew very jealous and paid him a visit trying to persuade him to give up his love for Shīrīn.[4] Farhād, of course, refused and so Khusrau, by a dirty trick, soon made him commit suicide. Shīrīn, in revenge, sent an old, wily woman to Khusrau's palace and the hag installing herself into the confidence of the unwary Shakar soon managed to

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1 Niẓāmī commences the tale with Khusrau's birth and his early education in Mesopotamia with Nu'mān b. Mundhir, who built Khawarnaq.

2 This was the 'wind-blown' treasure famous in Persian legends (گنج باد آورد) Niẓāmī makes no mention of this incident.

3 Khusrau's account of their meeting is more romantic than that of Niẓāmī.

4 Some very interesting questions are answered in this passage, which summarizes as it were the whole theory of love as understood by the ṣūfīs.

compass her death through a deadly potion which she gave to her as a medicine.[1] After these tragic deaths Khusrau and Shīrīn remained estranged for some time, but were ultimately reconciled and married with great pomp and ceremony. Their happiness was great, but it did not last long, for Shīrweh, the son of Khusrau, encouraged by the easy-going and pleasure-loving nature of his father conspired with the nobles, besieged the palace and captured the throne. Khusrau was murdered by a ruffian who bore him a grudge and the faithful Shīrīn committed suicide by the corpse of her dead husband.

This, in brief, is how Khusrau relates the old romance in a highly artistic style in which he falls hardly short of Niẓāmī. In some places, in fact, he proves himself to be a greater dramatist and a more skilful painter of character than the old master. Only his poem lacks that perfect finish and polish which repeated retouching and long revision could alone impart to it. The concluding part, where Khusrau questions the great philosopher, Buzurg Ummaid about the skies, the stars, the four elements, etc. is very original and instructive albeit a little dull and wearying.

The poet finishes the poem with a comparison of himself with Niẓāmī, gives the date of composition and the number of verses in the poem and concludes with a prayer to God.

'When Khusrau parts with this life, forgive him his sins—for the rest Thou knowest better!'

چو بر خسرو سر آید زندگانی   گناهش عفو کن باقی تو دانی

The poem has been lithographed in Aligarh. Manuscript copies are numerous and easily accessible.

(13) *Majnūn-o-Leylā.*

Khusrau completed his poem Majnūn-o-Leylā in 699 H. The poem, written after Niẓāmī's Leylā-o-Majnūn, contains 2,660 couplets and is in the same metre as its model.[2] Khusrau, according to himself has, moreover, tried to imitate in this poem the style of Niẓāmī as closely as possible. 'I have advanced close in his footsteps as far as I could. I discarded my own style and adopted his: I wrote after the old model and did away with all affecta-

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1 Khusrau's sketch of her is wonderful. Niẓāmī is silent about Shakar's fate, and places the death of Maryam after that of Farhād.

2 Thus: مفعولُ | مفاعلْن | فعولْن twice.
——‿ | ‿—‿— | ‿——

(ای داده بدل خزینهٔ راز   عقل از تو شده خزینه پرداز)

Cf. Blochmann, p. 33.

tion, ornamenting my ideas with only simplicity and flow of language.'[1] It is, perhaps, too much to say that Khusrau has succeeded in imitating Niẓāmī's style completely: there is in his poem still a touch of his original style, but there could be no doubt that as far as the general quality of the poems is concerned, Khusrau's poem is as fine as Niẓāmī's and Khusrau is justified when he says: 'No one could imitate Niẓāmī better than this. If he himself had read my poem he would not have recognized it from his own, and I see no difference between them except that one is the product of his mind and the other of my soul'.[2]

The story as told by Khusrau is slightly different from Niẓāmī's version of it.[3] The poem opens with ḥamd, n'at and the praises of Niẓāmuddīn Auliyā and 'Alāuddīn Khaljī. The poet then says how Gabriel visited him and exhorted him to be active, not to rest in his laurels, but try to add yet another glory to his crown. Then follow some advices to his son whom he calls Khiḍr. The story itself begins with the birth of Majnūn, his education in a school, where he meets the charming damsel, Leylā, and falls in love with her. The poet then describes how their love becomes common talk and upsets Leylā's parents who prevent her from going to school and confine her in 'purdah'. Majnūn gets wild and wanders about but his father persuades him to come back home promising him to get for him the hand of Leyla, which, however, he fails to do. Naufal, a powerful chieftain, taking pity on Majnūn's plight fights Leylā's father to force him to marry her to Majnūn but failing in his undertaking he marries his own daughter, a beautiful girl, to Majnūn. The distracted lover, however, finds little solace in this marriage and soon flees away to the wilderness again, where he lives among wild animals. His mother and father pine away in grief for their beloved son and die one after the other. Leylā, meanwhile, was as distracted and miserable in her confinement as Majnūn. Once only, through the kind assistance of some

1 P. 63.

پی بر پیٔ او چنانکه دانم　　گفتم قدمی زدن توانم
از شیوهٔ خود رمیده گشتم　　تسلیم همان جریده گشتم
زان سکه که مرد پر هنر داشت　　زین به نتوان نمونه برداشت

2 p. 63.

گر خود بزلال من شدی غرق　　ممکن نشدیش درمیان فرق
زین بیش تفاوتی ندانم　　کان از دل اوست این زجانم

3 According to Niẓāmī, for instance, Leylā was married to Ibn-i-Salām and he makes no mention of Majnūn's marriage to Naufal's daughter. He introduces also another romance, the love and marriage of Zeynab and Zaid, which Khusrau has, wisely I think, ignored altogether.

friends the two lovers met each other in the wilderness. Leylā at last heard a false rumour of Majnūn's death, fell ill, wasted away and died. Majnūn hearing of her death walked in front of the bier containing her corpse. He laughed and sang for 'the time had come when the two would be united in an inseparable union'. When Leylā's grave was dug and the coffin placed in it, Majnūn gave one wild cry, leapt into the grave and clasping the dead body in a close embrace expired immediately.[1] Some of Leylā's relatives wanted to remove his body from hers, but then spoke out some wise ones with tearful eyes: 'This love had nothing of worldly desire about it: it was a mystery from the treasure-house of God......Happy are they who with a pure heart thus go to death in the path of faithfulness.'[2] So the two lovers were allowed to lie for ever together in one grave, locked in a union that is eternal.

The poet then moralizes on the fickle ways of the world, and in a very pathetic passage describes his own double loss-the death of his mother and his younger brother Qutlugh in one year. After a comparison of his own poem with that of Niẓāmī and acknowledging the greatness of that master he turns to his critics: 'If I am devoid of skill, let us hear you speak so that we may know your worth......When your own poetry is ignominious why do you foolishly brag about Niẓamī?' He gives the date of composition and the number of verses in the poem at the conclusion.

The poem, written in an elegantly simple and tender style, is, I think, the finest poem of the Khamsa and Khusrau has in it proved himself to be as great a student of the psychology of love and emotion as any Persian poet.

The poem has been lithographed several times,[3] and MS. copies exist in many libraries. Several poets have written the old romance, but the best, after Niẓāmī's, are the poems of Khusrau and that of Fuḍūlī of Baghdad in Turkish,[4] and the two, curiously enough, show a good deal of resemblance in certain parts.[5]

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1 According to Niẓāmī Majnūn heard of Leylā's death some time after she had been married and he expired clasping the tomb-stone over her grave.

2 (p.58(:

این کار نه شهوت و هوائیست   سرّی ز خزانهٔ خدائیست الخ

3 I have consulted the Nawal Kishore edition (Lucknow, 1880) and I.O. MSS., No. 1186 and 1187. The reference to pages is from the Lucknow Edition.

4 For the latter poem see Gibb's Hist. of the Ottoman Poetry, Vol. III, p. 85 seq. and Vol. VI, p. 142 seq.

5 Note, for instance, the intensity and tenderness of Leylā's last words to her mother in both the poems.

(14) *Āina-i-Sikandari.*

Āīna-i-Sikandarī, or more correctly Āinahāi-Sikandarī,[1] the fourth poem of the Khamsa which is an imitation of Nīẓamī's Sikandar Nāmah, was composed by Khusrau in 699 H., and contains 4,450 couplets.[2] It is written in the same metre as the Barrī and Baḥrī Sikandar Nāmahs and delineates mostly the events narrated in these two mathnawīs.[3]

Beginning with ḥamd, na't, the praises of Niẓāmuddīn Auliya and the king, the poet goes on to extol the merits of poetry of which, he boasts, he has a full share. He then mentions the order in which he composed the poems of the Khamsa and criticizes the assertion made by Niẓāmī that Alexander was a prophet. According to Khusrau he was only a saintly person (walī). Then follow some advices to his son called Hājī, and the poet gives an abstract of the whole story treated in the poem.

The tale commences with Alexander's war against the Khāqān of China and the capture of the warrior-maid Kanīfū whom Alexander ultimately married.[4] From the east Alexander turned towards the north and subjugated the Rūsīs and the Almānīs, and then went to the land of Yājūj whom he quelled after a grim struggle and whose inroads into the land of their neighbours were stopped by the construction of a massive wall, of copper, iron, lead, and stones, under the special supervision of Aristotle.

Khusrau then mentions the various inventions of Alexander's time: the astrolabe,[5] the looking-glass and tents made of cotton cloth instead of hide, and describes the construction of the famous Alexander's mirror. He then mentions how the Greek philosophers, headed by Plato,[6] refused to listen to Alexander's teachings and how their land was destroyed by a flood, so that Plato, who survived the disaster, ultimately attached himself to the suite of

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1 Khusrau gives the name at two places in the epilogue :

مرا این نامه را ز اتفاق صواب   شد آئینهای سکندر خطاب

و لقبه قلبی آئینهای سکندری.

2 Epilogue

3 Thus

فعولْ | فعولنْ | فعولنْ | فعولنْ

ᴗ— | ᴗ—— | ᴗ—— | ᴗ——

4 According to Niẓāmī the girl was *presented* to Alexander by the emperor of China.

5 Khusrau gives here the various explanations of this name. According to his own theory 'Usṭur' is a balance and 'lāb' the sun, whence 'ustur-lab' is a sun-metre.

6 Aflāṭūn.

the king. Alexander now starts on a long sea-voyage accompanied by Khiḍr, Ilyās, and Aristotle and wanders about in the seas for years. He then descends into the depths of the sea in a water-tight glass case and guided by an angel sees the great mysteries of the ocean. He is at last informed of his approaching end, hurries back to land and dies bequeathing his empire to his son Iskandarūs. The prince, however, was so struck by the vanity of human ambition and worldly power that he refused the throne and so Dārghūs, a relative of the late king, is elected ruler of the vast empire. Khusrau concludes the poem with a long and very well-written epilogue in which he speaks of his achievements, laments the passage of time and the advent of old age,[1] gives the date of the poem and the number of verses in it, and appeals to his readers to be lenient in their judgment of the merits of the work, and not to ignore its good points. The epilogue ends in a sentence in Arabic prose.[2]

Khusrau has, of course, tried to imitate Niẓāmī in the poem, but he has been less successful here than elsewhere in rising up to the level of the great master. Khusrau's heroic passages lack that vigour which Niẓāmī's have so abundantly, and the whole poem wants unity and continuity. It is, in spite of some very fine passages, dull and uninspiring.

The poet has changed the story to suit his own purposes and differs considerably from Niẓamī in several details and, what is more important, has altogether left out the conquest of Persia and the death of Darius wisely, perhaps, for it was well-nigh impossible to tell those events better than Niẓāmī has done. (Lithographed in Aligarh.)[3]

(15) '*Hasht Bihisht*'.

(The Eight Paradises.)

Hasht Bihisht, the fifth and the last poem of the Khamsa, an imitation of Niẓāmī's Haft Paikar, was completed in 701 H., and contains 3,350 couplets.[4] Its metre is the same as that of its prototype and like the latter it narrates the

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1 He was almost fifty when he wrote the poem.

2 أسبّح الصانع على صقل خاطرى و صفاء ذهنى حتى ظهر هذا السجنجل المصقول من حدود صدرى و ليس فيه من الخيالات اللطيفة ما لا يصوّر فى مخيّلات المصوّرين و لقبه قلبى "آئينهاى سكندرى" عصمه الله من صدائة الانفاس و الحمد لله اوّلاً و آخرا *

3 I have consulted the I.O. MS., No. 1186.

4 Hasht Bihisht : Epilogue.

romantic life of Bahrām-Gūr, the old Persian king famous for his hunting exploits.[1]

The poem, as usual, opens with the praise of God and the Prophet, a eulogy of Niẓāmuddīn Auliya and a panegyric on Sultan 'Alāuddīn Khaljī, to whom the poet dedicated the mathnawī. The poet then relates how on a fine, moon-lit night he sat alone while a thousand poetic fancies crowded his mind impatient to be clothed in words and how he began to write this poem and was encouraged in this task by his friend ('Alāuddīn) 'Alī (Shāh). Then follows a long passage containing interesting bits of advice for his 'paradise daughter', 'Afīfa.

The story begins with an account of Bahrām's love for Dilārām, a beautiful Chinese damsel, who always accompanied the king on his hunting trips. One day she failed to admire the king's skill and Bāhrām offended at her behaviour exiled her to a forest, where she met a pious old man, a skilled musician 'who had all the four musical instruments and the twelve melodies at the tips of his fingers'. The old man soon made Dilārām a wonderful expert in music and she came back incognito to Bāhram's domain. There the fame of her skill spread far and wide for she could charm even the beasts and the birds with her divine melodies, so that the king too went one day to hear her play. Dilārām then disclosed her identity and the two were happily reconciled.[2]

The courtiers and companions of the king were, however, getting tired of his ceaseless hunting trips and consequent neglect of state affairs, and they beseeched his counsellor and vizier, Nu'mān, to devise some means to keep the king in the capital. The wise old man then constructed seven wonderful palaces, named each of them after one of the seven stars, and lodged in it a maiden of exquisite beauty, the daughter of a king.[3] Bahrām soon gave himself up to the pleasures of these paradise-like palaces and renounced his hunting. He visited each of them on successive days of the week and the princess in it told him an entertaining story. Bahrām, however, soon after got sick of this life and again started out on another hunting expedition. He saw a very

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1 Only Khusrau's account is materially different from that of Niẓāmī's. The metre is:

ای کشایندهٔ خزانهٔ جود   نقش پیوند کارگاه وجود

فاعلاتن | مفاعلن | فعلن twice.
—◡—— | ◡—◡— | ◡◡—

2 Niẓāmī's version of the manner of their reconciliation is quite different.

3 The princesses came from the 'seven climes' (Haft Iqlīm). According to Niẓāmī Bahrām found the portraits of the seven princesses in a locked chamber in Khawarnaq where he lived with Mundhir of Hīra in his childhood, fell in love with them and procured their hands himself when he became king.

fine onager and set his horse in its pursuit. The onager leapt into what appeared to be a well but was really a large cavern, deep and dreadful, and Bahrām's horse leapt after the onager with his rider into the abyss from which he never came out. His companions and courtiers waited long and anxiously for him but finding no trace of him, they at last returned weeping and mourning.

The poet here moralizes on the unstability of worldly goods and the helplessness of man. He then speaks of the poem, the date of its composition, the number of verses it contains and compares it to the Haft Paikar. 'This poem is an echo of that old work, and contains all the wealth which that old treasure has got......Honey, no doubt, is valuable but vinegar also has its purchasers: the pearl is costly, yet amber also possesses some value....and even if there be no real gold in this poem it has the glitter of gold. A flower-seller likes the garden: a wood-cutter prefers a forest of thorny trees. The bird of the desert[1] that eats stones considers stones more valuable than pearls.' The poet concludes with thanks to God and mentions how his poem was revised by his friend, the great scholar Shihābuddīn.

The bulk of the mat͟hnawī is, of course, formed by the seven stories told by the seven princesses all of which are apparently original and quite entertaining.[2] (The poem was lithographed in Lucknow in 1873 and later in Aligarh.)

D. Lyrical Poetry.

(16) *G͟hazals.*

Lyrical poetry, the poetry which sings essentially of love with its pleasures and sorrows, of spring with its green mantle bedecked with myriads of

1 He means probably 'qaṭā' (قطا) the sand-grouse. Hasht Bihisht epilogue (p. 179):

این نمونه که نقش پرکار است　　از طراز کهن نمودار است
هرچه در گنج پیش پنهانست　　همعیارش درون این کانست
گرچه آید ز انگبین کاری　　سرکه را هم بود خریداری
گرچه گوهر بقیمت است عزیز　　قیمتی هست کهربا را نیز
این رقم کاندر و صفائی هست　　گرچه زر نیست زرنگاری هست
خوش بود گلفروش را بستان　　خارکش را هوایء خارستان الخ

2 The best of these are, perhaps, the story of the Goldsmith and his tell-tale wife., (Hasht Bihisht, p. 61 seq.), which has been described by Shibli in Urdu (Shi'rul-'Ajam, II, 163) and 'the three princes of Ceylon' translated by Prof. Habib (p. 77 seq.). Hasht Bihisht, p. 46 seq.

blossoms and flowers, of wine and its rapturous delights and of music that lifts the soul above the sordid surroundings of the earth, forms undoubtedly the most pleasant and the most precious part of the poetry of any country. Songs of the great deeds of mighty heroes may stir our hearts to ambitious action and fill our minds with noble discontent, the praises of glorious monarchs, the tales of their wars and conquests may supply material for the speculative brain and the prolific pen of a historian, but it is the poetry that sings of the eternal and universal themes, love and life, that consoles and comforts, elevates and inspires every human heart, and the greatness of a poet depends largely on how far he succeeds in handling these themes properly.

Persian poetry, such as has come down to us and with which we are familiar, developed on the lines of Arabic poetry in which lyrics formed no independent branch, but constituted a portion of the qaṣīda. It was, therefore, natural that the earliest Persian masters, emulating the Arab bards, devoted their art and talents to qaṣīdas. But the more versatile and flexible Iranian minds could not long be tied down to the narrow limitations of their Semetic models and soon found out a way to vary the monotony of their poetry. The first step taken by the Persian poets was the introduction of several metres, unknown to the Arabs, that were certainly much more suited to the spirit and genius of their poetry and provided a vaster field for the exercise of their art. The invention of the mathnaw`, a form of poetry particularly suitable for epic and romantic poetry, was the next development, and finally there came the ghazal that was destined to achieve the largest amount of popularity in all eastern countries.

Sa'dī, the wizard of Shiraz, was certainly the first man to advance the cause of ghazal. His lyrics, soft and refined, musical and melodious became as popular in the Moslem countries as his Gulistān and Būstān, and he was soon recognized as the master of lyrics. Yet Sa'd 's ghazals lacked something: they had no frenzy, no burning passion, no erotic love in them. They were tame and gentle, and his successor and compatriot Ḥāfiẓ was the first to detect this weakness, and to supply the ghazal with that 'fire' which has made the name of Ḥāfiẓ renowned all over the world.[1] Yet years before Ḥāfiẓ was born, Khusrau, 'the Parrot' of India, had firmly established the claims of ghazal to superiority over all other branches of Persian poetry. Both

1 Thus Ḥāfiẓ says : 'They all recognize Sa'di as the master of ghazal, yet my ghazals have rather the style and spirit of Khwajū's ghazals'. Khwẓju of Kirman, a poet not very well known, died in 753 H. See Browne : (Persian Lit. under the Tartars, pp. 222-229). See also Z.D.M.G., 1848, p. 205 seq.

استاد غزل سعدیست پیش همه کس لیکن   دارد غزل حافظ طرز و روش خواجو

Khusrau and his great contemporary Ḥasan, took for their model the old master, Sa'dī, and recognized his greatness, but Khusrau, like Ḥāfiẓ, was not a blind follower. He also saw what Sa'dī's ghazal lacked and, unconsciously perhaps, drifted away from the old path and evolved for himself a lyrical poetry the like of which has been rarely produced by any Persian poet. It is a pity, however, that he could not free himself entirely from contemporary conventions and ideals and does not seem to have attached any great value to this poetry. With him, as with Sa'dī, it was a foster-child though, perhaps, less neglected and more carefully brought up, and this fact accounts for the presence of a fair amount of what is dull and insipid, weak and puerile in his lyrical poetry side by side with poems of the highest order and the most sublime genius. It is idle to speculate what his verse would have been like if he had concentrated all his attention and energy on lyrics : perhaps, he could never do that, or even if he did he could not have improved much upon the best specimens of his ghazal, which are quite numerous—more in fact than those of doubtful merit, so that it is unjust to say that 'three-fourths of the mass is pure hack-work, a useless versification of common-place ideas', or that 'they are a burden on the shoulders of posterity'.[1] Nor can I agree with Prof. Habib in his assertion that 'most of the ghazals were written not from the fulness of the heart, but the emptiness of the pocket',[2] although one would readily admit that Khusrau's collection of ghazals could have been better for a little judicious pruning.

But the poet had no time, even if he had the inclination, to under-take a thorough revision and purging of his ghazals. In fact, as far as we can gather from his own writings, he himself made but two collections which he appended to his third and fourth diwans. Later collections were made by Saifī at the instance of Prince Bāisunghar,[3] and by other enthusiasts, and exist in several manuscripts. They are usually arranged in alphabetical order, and in some cases contain ghazals said to have been culled from the various dīwāns.

It is difficult to define exactly the fine qualities of Khusrau's lyrics. Their charm is vague and elusive, subtle and inexpressible. One should read them in the original to appreciate their true value. Yet a few suggestions may be made here as to the salient characteristics that have imparted them a unique dignity.

(1) Khusrau, an expert musician, had naturally a keen ear for melody and harmony, and his selection both of metres and words is such as is best

1 Life and Works, pp. 88-90.

2 *Ibid.*

3 See supra.

calculated to impart a flow and rhythm to the verse.[1] (2) But this effect is produced not at the cost of ideas. His style is never affected or abstrusively ornate. Most of his ghazals, on the other hand are written in a wonderfully simple though elegant style, and the language seems to be that used for ordinary everyday conversation in his time. (3) Ghazal has always been generally considered to be a collection of couplets in the same metre and with the same rhyme, yet each a complete unit more or less independent of the rest. The theme changes with each couplet, so that the poet may, from the heights of bliss in one couplet, plunge into the depths of deepest despair in the one immediately after it. Sa'dī, however, first showed the way to a new style of ghazal wherein the component parts are more sympathetic and homogeneous so that a continuity of theme, so desirable in a poem, is obtained. But it was left to Khusrau to utilize the new idea to its fullest possibilities. In his dīwāns we meet with scores of poems with verses so well balanced and so nicely strung together as cannot fail to excite our admiration and wonder. (4) Many of his poems are full of a fervent love, a fiery passion capable of both exoteric as well as esoteric interpretation. This, coupled with their peculiar melodiousness has made his poems extremely popular with the sūfīṣ who listen to them with rapt attention from the lips of the qawwāls to-day as their brethren did in the poet's life-time. More than one person have been reported to have yielded the ghost while listening to a particularly touching verse.[2] (5) Yet, at the same time, there are other poems in a gentler and more restrained vein, which fill our hearts with vague longings, a tender joy or a soft melancholy. (6) Still others are boisterously joyful, over-flowing with the joys of physical life—the fair women, the music, the wine, he flowers, the pleasant summer rains, the singing birds and the flowing waters. (7) Lastly, Khusrau's lyrics have a peculiar finesse and subtility of ideas that most of the Persian poets lack. In fact, I think, this was a characteristic that developed in India and, except Jāmī in old times and Naẓīrī later on, no other Persian

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1 I do not agree with Shiblī when he says that Khusrau is at his best in short metres. I think almost all his fine poems are in more or less long metres. One of the finest, however, is in a short metre :—

مرا دوش گوئی بخواب آمدی — بکف کرده جام شراب آمدی
کجا بودی ای اختر نیک فال — که مه رفتی و آفتاب آمدی الخ

2 See for instance Jahāngīr's account of how Mulla 'Alī Aḥmed, a famous seal-engraver of his time, fell down dead on listening to the following verse recited by some Delhi qawwāls:

هر قوم راست راهی دینی و قبله گاهی — ما قبله راست کردیم بر طرف کجکلاهی

(Memoirs, O. T. F., I, 169.)

poet can compete with Khusrau in this particular respect, though there have been several Urdu poets who can.[1] While then one cannot under-rate the value of his other works, it is certain that the lyrics form the most importan part of Khusrau's poetry and that his great fame rests more upon their excellence than on anything else.

In the following translations I have tried to retain as far as possible the spirit and form of the original poems, and hope that some idea of their quality may be had even from this defective rendering.

I

(*Jealousy*)

Lo ! comest thou again to me,
Thy graceful body swaying !
Thine eyes are languid, O my Love,
Where hast thou been a-maying ?
Whose love-lorn heart didst gladden thou ?
O faithless one ! be candid !
Where didst thou hide thy moon-like face
As Joseph in the well did ?
I rave for thee, but heedless thou—
Where hast thou been a-roaming ?
Whose heart was it that caught new fire
From yon bright cheeks a-flaming ?
Where didst thou quaff the cup last eve
Whom didst thou hand the goblet ?
Whose thirsty lips in darkness did
That life's own fountain wet ?
Who held thy languid, drooping form
Of musk and henna scent
In his fond arms ?—To whose behest
Thy wilful nature bent ?
Who kissed yon lips—whose hands did smooth
Those lustrous, raven tresses ?
Who fondled thee—ah ! say forsooth—
With eager, hot caresses ?
Thy cheek hath lost its rosy hue
Thine eye its wonted glow !
Come, Khusrau, tell me who it was
Her fair face did thee show ![2]

1 I would have liked to add here the name of Ghālīb also, but I regard him as an Urdu poet essentially. In his Persian poetry he followed Naẓīrī very closely.

2 Nawal Kishore edition of Kulliyāt, p. 455; I.O. MS., 1187, f. 782.

مست آمدهٔ با ز به مهمان که بودی جانان شکری در شکرستان که بودی
ای یار جدا مانده دل تنگ که جستی ای یوسف گم گشته بزندان که بودی
دیوانه من و بر سر کویٔ که گذشتی تشویش ده حال پریشان که بودی
می دوش کجا خوردی و ساغر بکه دادی در ظلمت شب چشمهٔ حیوان که بودی
آراستهٔ و مست در آغوش که خفتی این بخت کرا بود بفرمان که بودی
جعدت که کشیده‌است و لبت را که گزیداست پیش که نشستی شب و مهمان که بودی
نی بویٔ گلی داریٔ و نی رنگ بهاری خسرو تو به نظارهٔ بستان که بودی

II.

(*Longing*)

Ah friend ! Come, but for once a thought
On this lost one bestow !
From 'neath yon silken lashes long
Thine eye's bright sparkle show !
I came to thee unbid, unasked
Thou went away from me,
Ay, 'tis to show how should forsooth
My boldness punished be !
Yea, thou hast gone, and well I know
That grief won't spare my life,
For where, alas ! can find I now
Fresh strength for this new strife ?
O Love ! return and sit by me
Awhile,—why, where's the harm
If for one moment some sad heart
By thy bright presence warm ?
My life is o'er, yet naught I rue
Except thine absence, dear,
If thou canst, do return for I
This sorrow cannot bear.
Lo ! Khusrau's grief lasts all night long,
'Tis long as thy dark hair,
Come, sweet-heart, tuck those tresses up
And shorten his despair ! [1]

جانان به پرسش یاد کن جان من غم بوده را و آخر برحمت باز کن آن چشم خواب آلوده را
ناخوانده سویت آمدم نا گفته رفتی از برم یعنی سیاست این بود فرمان نا فرموده را

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1 Nawal Kishore : Kulliyāt, p. 47 ; I.O. MS., 1187, f. 417*b*.

رفتی تو دنما که من زنده نمانم از غمت   یا رب کجا یابم کنون آن صبر و وقتی رفته را
بازآی و بنشین ساعتی آخرچه کم خواهد شدن   گر شاد گردانی دمی یاران غم فرسوده را
کشتی مرا و نیست غم الا غم نا دیدنت   گر میتوانی با ز بخش این جان نا بخشوده را
سودای خسرو هرشبی پایان ندارد تا سحر   آخر گره بر زن یکی آن جعد نا پیموده را

III.

(*Separation*)

The clouds pour down their burden chill
While I from my loved one part;
How can I pray, on such a day
From her sever my heart ?
The rain doth fall while with sad hearts
We stand to bid farewell,
The clouds do weep, and in response
Hot tears from our eyes swell.
Fair blows the breeze, while verdure fresh
The meads and gardens covers,
E'en like a captive nightingale
Ill fare now parted lovers !
For thee my tears are streaked with blood,
O pupil of mine eye !
Have pity on this grief of mine,
Don't bid me yet good-bye !
No more I want the gift of sight,
Let darkness me enfold !
What use to me are now mine eyes ?
That face I can't behold ![1]

غزل

ابر میبارد و من میشوم از یار جدا   چون کنم دل بچنین روز ز دلدار جدا
ابر باران و من و یار ستاده بوداع   من جدا گریه کنان ابر جدا یار جدا
سبزه نوخیز و هوا خورم و بستان سرسبز   بلبل روی سیه مانده ز گلزار جدا
دیده‌ام بهر تو خونبار شد ای مردم چشم   مردمی کن مشو از دیدهٔ خونبار جدا
نعمت دید نخواهم که بماند پس ازین   مانده چون دیده ازان نعمت دیدار جدا

1 Nawal Kishore, p. 37; I.O. MS., f. 423*b*.

IV.

(The Advent of Love)

The blood-red tears mine eye-lids lave,
Whose face mine eyes would see ?
A cruel thorn my heart doth pierce,
For whom this longing be ?
The mad-cap heart I with great art
From fickle beauties weaned,
Is stolen by some one again,
Who, pray, the thief may be ?
In darkness do I roam alone
Each night on dusty paths
Dust on my head, in my heart a gloom
What may this mad quest be ?
'What wilt thou offer if she comes ?
They say with mockful glee.
Why, don't they see the thousand pearls
My tearful eyes set free ?
Two snare-ful locks her face adorn,
A rose-hued horse beneath her
A thousand hearts her victims are—
Who may this rider be ?
On hapless Khusrau swift do fall
The arrows from her bow
Why should his blood not drench the sod ?—
What can her scruples be ?[1]

خونی ز چشم میرود از انتظار کیست این   تیری بجانم میخلد از خار خار کیست این
دل کز بتان بو الهوس آورده بودم باز پس   بار دگر دزدید کس بنگر که کار کیست این
هر شب بخاکی میزنم هردم غباری حاصلم   ای خاک بر فرق دلم آخر غبار کیست این
گویند اگر آن خوش پسر آید چه می‌آری نذر   در چشم من چندی گهر بهر نثار کیست این
گلگون ناز انگیخته گیسو کمند آویخته   دل برده و خون‌ریخته‌چابکسوار کیست این
بر خسرو بیدل ز کین اسپ جفا را کرد زین   گوریزیش‌خون برزمین درانتظار کیست این

(Death)

Down there beneath the cruel earth
How fares that rose ? ah me !
How fares that silv'ry moon of mine
In darkness far from me ?

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1 Nawal Kishore, p. 386 ; I.O. MS., 1187, f. 729*b*

With weeping have mine eyes grown dim
As Jacob's did of old;
How fares that lost one, Joseph-like,
In that dark dungeon cold ?
I feel like one whose light is gone
By cruel griefs surrounded;
How fares my Love in that vast space
By earthly bounds unbounded ?
E'en like a pearl was that sweet one
To the dust rolled down from mine eyes
Alas ! mine eyes are dark as dust,
Where doth that bright pearl lie ?
Like Khiḍr's green garb, the verdure fresh
Springs from that dusty mound,
How fares my loved Font of Life
For regions unknown bound ?
Ah friends, those painful queries cease,
Don't ask of Khusrau, pray,
How fares his weeping eye just now,
For what can Khusrau say ?[1]

یا رب اندر دل خاک آن گل خندان چونست　ماه تابان من اندر شب هجران چونست
من چو یعقوب ز بس گریه شدم دیده سفید　آخر آن یوسف گم گشته بزندان چونست
من درین خاک بزندان غم از دوری او　او زمن دور بصحرای و بیابان چونست
گوهری بود کزین دیده بغلطید بخاک　دیده خود خاک شد آن گوهر غلطان چونست
سبزه چون خضر ز پیراهن خاکش برخاست　در هوای عدم آن چشمهٔ حیوان چونست
مردمان باز مپرسید ز خسرو که کنون　در غم دوست ترا دیدهٔ گریان چونست

(*An Awakening*)

The tipsy rose woke early in the dawn
And filled the poppy's cup with sweetest wine,
Here drowsed the jasmin by the rose's side
There stood alert the cypress straight and fine.
The wind blew soft, the narcissus dosed
Its body swayed, now drooped and now arose,
I in the garden by my friend lay 'wake
My friend—forsooth the moon itself was she,
But soon, alas, my side she left
And grief was all that was left for me.

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1 Nawal Kishore, p. 83, I.O. MS., 1187.

گل امروز آخر شب مست برخاست   ز جام لاله گون مجلس بیار است
سمن بنشسته زینسو بر سر گل   ستاده سرو زانسو جانب راست
صبا میرفت و نرگس در غنودن   بهر سوئی همی افتاد و میخاست
من اندر باغ بودم خفته با یار   بنامیزد چو ماهی بی کم و کاست
چو رفتن خواست از پهلوی خسرو   برآمد از دلم فریاد بیخواست

(*Admiration*)

O thou ! Thy face the envy
Of the idols made by Ā dhar,
I praise thy beauty, yet forsooth
Than aught I say 'tis better.
Oh, never hath mine eye beheld
A fairer face than thine !
Art thou the moon ? art thou the sun ?
Art thou a nymph divine ?
Through all the corners of the earth
I roamed and loved the fair ones
I saw a thousand beauties rare
But thou art far above them.
The world all lies at thy feet
The men all for thee rave ;
Thy dark, bewitching, paynim eyes
The lovers' hearts enslave.
O joy and peace of my sad heart,
Thy form a cypress ! —pray,
Pass not with heedless, trailing skirt
Don't sweep my peace away !
Midst this your wond'rous city cast,
A beggar and a stranger,
Poor Khusrau longs for just a smile—
For just a glance from her ![1]

ای چهرهٔ زیبای تو رشک بتان آذری   هر چند وصفت میکنم در حسن زان زیبا تری
هرگز نیابد در نظر نقشی ز رویت خوبتر   شمسی ندانم یا قمر حوری ندانم یا پری

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1 This ghazal is very popular. Cf. Sa'dī's ghazal beg. :

آخر نگاهی باز کن وقتی که بر ما بگذری

Odes of Sa'dī : Bib. Ind., 1919, p. 422, where the best verse is :

صورتگر دیبای چین گو صورت روشن ببین   با صورتی کش این چنین یا ترک کن صورتگری

آفاق را گردیده ام مهر بتان ورزیده ام بسیار خوبان دیده ام لیکن تو چیز دیگری
عالم همه یغمای تو خلق خدا شیدای تو آن نرگس شهلای تو آورده رسم کافری
ای راحت و آرام جان با قد چون سرو روان زینسان مرو دامنکشان کارام جانم میبری
خسرو غریب است و گدا افتاده در شهر شما باشد که از بهر خدا سوی غریبان بنگری

It is a pity indeed that I have no space here to give a fuller account of Khusrau's lyrical poetry, or to quote enough selections to illustrate its manifold characteristics. It is a poetry both original and vigorous, refined and artistic, and its popularity in the East has been unbounded.[1] Numerous poets, including his contemporary Ḥasan,[2] have modelled their verse on it, and even in Turkey the lyrics of Khusrau were evidently well known and probably, imitated by some of the poets. Sa'dī himself admired them, and the great Ḥāfiẓ acknowledged their sweetness.[3] Naẓīrī, the best ghazal-writer of later times, imitates Khusrau frequently, and Ghālib is another notable poet whose ghazals smack of the flavour first imparted to them by the 'Parrot of India'.

It may be mentioned here that Khusrau has written some ghazals in Arabic. Their number, however, is so small that we need take no special notice of them. Any scholar of his time could have produced Arabic verses of a similar quality. They are, in fact, as the poet himself says, 'in a Persianized, rudimentary style',[4] and were composed merely to shut the mouth of such callous critics as denied him even the simplest proficiency in the Arabic language.

We may also add here a few words about Khusrau's quatrains which are appended to his various dīwāns.[5] Most of them are either in praise of God, the Prophet, and the kings and nobles, or, like the ghazals, treat of love and the beloved. But there are a few in a more philosophical vein that almost remind one of Omar Khayyām. There are a few others, again that contain

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1 Thus Jāmī says in his Bahāristān (Henri Massé, 1925, p. 190). 'Ses ghazals, grâce à des conceptions bien connues qu'amants et amoreux interprètent selon leur propre goût et leurs propre sentiment, ont été apprciés par tous.' He mentions (p. 191) 'Iṣmatullah of Bokhara as one of the imitators of Khusrau.

2 Hasan's poetry is, perhaps, of a simpler and more natural order. It is more like that of Sa'dī. whence his title of Sa'dī-i-Hind. But one can detect enough of Khusrau's influence in it.

3 Ḥāfiẓ says in a ghazal which he sent to Ghiyāthuddīn of Bengal :

شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند زین قند پارسی که به بنگاله میرود

4 مبتدیانه پارسیانه The Dībācha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl. For these poems, see I.O. MS., 1187, foll. 78*b*, 433 : B.M. MS., 25807, foll. 500*b*, 504, 519.

5 We have already given their number, as far as ascertainable, in the case of each dīwān.

riddles[1] and some that praise the charms of young and fair artisans and craftsmen.[2] These latter may have formed part of a larger collection, a Shahr-Ashūb, which Khusrau is reported to have composed.[3] Here are a few fine specimens.

در سلک بتان دیگر آن در خوشاب   میرفت خرامان و خوش و مست و خراب
گفتم که ترا بخواب دیدم امشب   خندید که لاف عاشقی وانگه خواب

* * * * * *

آنجا که مقام یار زیبا بوده است   امروز ازانسو گذر ما بوده است
میرفت ز دیده خون چو می آمد یاد   کان سرو خرامان من اینجا بوده است[4]

* * * * * *

ایام بقا یگان یگان میگذرد   و اندر غم و رنج بیکران میگذرد
عمری که ازو دمی بجانی ندهند   افسوس که نیک رایگان میگذرد[5]

* * * * * *

رفتم بسر خاک عزیزان و داد   آنانکه بدند چند گه با ما شاد
هر چند بخاک شان بکردم بفریاد   آخر بکجائید کس آواز نداد[6]

* * * * * *

زلفت همه شبروئ و دزدی داند   پیوسته ز من دل مرا بستاند
ترسم من ازان دزد که بهر دزدی   شب را برسن بسته همی گرداند[7]

* * * * * *

یاد آیدت آن مهر و وفاداریها   و ان در حق من بلطف غمخواریها
اکنون بتصور چنان یاریها   مائیم و شب دراز و بیداریها[8]

* * * * * *

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1 They generally relate to names. Thus the name Kamāl is the solution of the following :

نام بت من که مرهم ریش آمد   پرسیدم ازو چو در رهم پیش آمد
حرفی بنمود لیک در آخر حال   در اول آن گرچه کما بیش آمد

(B.M. MS., 25807, fol. 437 seq.)

2 *Ibid.*, fol. 438*b* seq.

3 See Ishāq Khān's Prolegomena.

4 I.O. MS., 1187, f. 839.

5 *Ibid.*, f. 826.

6 *Ibid.*

7 I.O. MS., 1187, fol. 829*b*.

8 I.O. MS., 1187, f. 841*b*.

دی آن بت نازنین موزون حرکات   کز قامت شیرینست درختی ز نبات
میشد ز لب حوض روان دل میگفت   بین کز لب حوض میرود آب حیات[1]

* * * *

هنگام خزان که یاسمین میریزد   ابر از مژه لولوی ثمین میریزد
هر برگ گلی که می بریزد بر خاک   خونیست که باد بر زمین میریزد[2]

* * * *

حسن دگران پیش تو نپسندد گل   زانست که بر هر همه میخندد گل
ای هندوی گلفروش آن روی بپوش   کز دست تو زنار همی بندد گل[3]

* * * *

باد آمد و رقص کرد گل بر سر خار   وز گریهٔ ابر خندها زد گلزار
بریش کسی است خندهٔ گل که بباغ   بی شاهد و می رود به هنگام بهار[4]

* * * *

آن ساعد ترک بر سمن خندیده است   بس گل که بدست خویشتن دزدیده است
حیرانست کسی کان کف گلگون دیده است   گوئی که بباغ بوده گلها چیده است[5]

* * * *

The popularity of Khusrau's ghazals has been responsible for numerous and varied collections and selections. Manuscript copies are numerous. They exist either in the Kulliyāt or independently under the title of Dīwān-i-Khusrau. A selection was lithographed in Cawnpore in 1288 H. and it would appear from the preface by the editor that the selection was made by the poet himself from his four dīwāns, whence its title کلیات عناصر دوادین خسرو[6] This, however, is unlikely, for many of the poems ascribed to a particular dīwān in this edition are to be found attached to other dīwāns in some manuscripts There is, as we have said above, a good deal of confusion in all the various collections, and the only real selections made by the poet himself appear to be those attached to the Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl, and the Baqīya Naqīya, although even there we find several common ghazals.

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1 *Ibid.*, f. 843.

2 B.M. MS., 25807, f. 313.

3 *Ibid.*, f. 439*b*.

4 *Ibid.*, f. 435*b*.

5 *Ibid.*, f. 431*b*.

6 (Preface). A second edition was published in 1874 A.D. It is based on a MS. belonging to a gentleman in Bhopal.

E. Prose Works.

(17) *The I'jāz-i-Khusrawi* or *Rasāil-ul-I'jāz.*

Khusrau completed this voluminous work in 719 H. when he was nearly seventy years of age. He had in 682 compiled four of the five risālas (chapters or books) the work contains, but later on added to them a fifth, comprising letters composed in his earlier life.[1] The work is essentially meant to give specimens of elegant prose suitable for various purposes and to explain the use of the various artifices that, according to eastern ideals, add a 'zest and flavour' to all compositions, prose or poetic, and was undertaken by the poet to demonstrate his prowess in the field of prose as much as to provide instruction for the young literary aspirants of his age. He claims to present in it a style unique and original, distinct from all the old styles which he divides into nine categories. This originality consists mainly in the employment of a series of metaphors, each being sustained throughout one paragraph, admittedly an innovation of the poet. According to Khusrau the nine different styles of prose current in his time were as follows:

(1) The style of ṣufīs and saints, which is of two kinds:—

(*a*) Of men of 'gravity and stations',[2] like that to be met with in Kashf-ul-Maḥjūb,[3] Sulūk-ul-Musāfirīn, and other similar works;

(*b*) Of men of 'States',[4] like what we have in the works of al-Ghazzālī or 'Ain-ul-Quḍāt al-Hamadānī.

(2) The style of the research scholars[5] which is simple, forcible and convincing. Examples: the Persian books of al-Ghazzālī and the Persian translation of the Iḥyā by Majduddīn Jājurmī.

(3) The style of the epistle-writers: neat and elegant, a mixture of Arabic and Persian judiciously worked up, the best specimen of which is provided by the translator of Kalīla-wa-Dimnah of Bahā-i-Baghdādī.

(4) The style of scholars and savants: a technical language suited to each of the various sciences is employed.

1 See pp. 342 and 167 of the fourth and fifth risālas respectively. (Nawal Kishore edition, 1876.) The work opens with the praises of God and the Prophet and a long eulogy of 'Alāuddīn Khaljī whose chastisement of the Mongols and establishment of peace and order are described at great length in very glowing terms. We have already made use of most of the valuable material contained in these introductory pages.

2 Ahl-i-tamkīn wa maqāmāt. 3 Of Hujwairi.

4 Ahl-i-Ḥāl. 5 علمائی متحقق.

(5) The style of orators and lecturers. It may be 'plain' or 'coloured'.

(6) The style of teachers, which is 'like a slippery stone placed on the roadway by a clumsy workman—is avoided by the wise but causes many a fool to stumble'. The lovers of this style are mostly obstinate and deaf to the criticism of the wise.

(7) The style of common folk. It is plain, simple and to the point.

(8) The style of workers and craftsmen, suited to their various professions. It is free from all affectation or ornament.

(9) The style of humorous writers, buffoons and clowns : a style particularly adapted for amusing and creating a sense of the droll and the ridiculous.

The author then proceeds to explain his own style 'which baffles all writers, the miraculous epistles written in it being like semi-revelation'.[1] He gives first the arrangement of the work. It is divided into five risālas or main divisions,[2] each risāla is divided into so many 'k̲h̲aṭṭs' or chapters, and each k̲h̲aṭṭ is subdivided into a number of 'ḥarfs' or subjects.

1. *The first risāla* opens with a long introduction, detailing the poet's reasons for writing the book. The old style, he says, lacked spice and zest, like the simple fare of the nomadic Turk or the Indian fisherman. The present style is entirely his own. All the Arabic and Persian verses used are his own productions. He does not favour the use of verbal artifices. Īhām and K̲h̲ayāl are his favourite figures of speech. The introduction closes with a warning to scribes to be careful in copying the work and with detailed instructions as to the best methods to be employed in writing a manuscript. He says here also how in India there had been developing a new style of prose, 'mixed with sweet artifices, like water mixed with julep—a preparation of which the ice-crunchers[3] of Māwarāan-nahr and Khorasan were quite unaware'. He, of course, would present here the best specimens of this prose, in spite of all the jealous criticism that his venture would bring upon him.

The author then comes to the proper subject of the risāla—the use of suitable words and the formation of phrases and sentences. It is significant that he advises the use of as few Arabic words as possible, preferably only such as have got two or more senses, capable of artistic effects.

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1 Waḥy-i-K̲h̲afī.

2 It is curious that Shiblī (Shi'rul 'Ajam, II, 134) should describe the work as containing three volumes.

3 یخ شکنان as opposed to شکر شکنان; used to cold, insipid things. *Vide* p. 65 (R.I.).

2. *The second risāla* contains specimens of whole letters of all kinds. 'That which was a young plant in the first risāla has become a big rose-tree in this, blooming with the breeze of speech and a sweet-voiced bird singing from each of its branches.'[1] There are in it official letters, firmans, letters from elders to their youngers, and vice versa, letters of lovers, etc. There is among them a letter in Arabic addressed to Shihābuddīn,[2] and another in pure Persian without a single Arabic word.[3] One chapter contains some new proverbs in Arabic and Persian.[4] There is an interesting letter addressed to Ṣadruddīn, praising the sweetness and flavour of bananas sent by him to the poet,[5] while another describes the virtues of the betel-leaf.[6] Another interesting section deals with music and musicians, as well as the different instruments generally employed.[7] Among the musicians he mentions one Turmatī Khatūn, who through his assistance was admitted to the royal court. She was placed, subsequently, in charge of all the Persian and Indian court musicians.[8] Other letters relate to astronomy, physics and medicine, chess, hunting, law, etc.

3. *In the third risāla* the poet explains and illustrates the use of literal or verbal artifices in prose. Some of these he claims to be his own inventions. The risāla is dull and uninteresting.

4. *The fourth risāla*, comprising altogether five khaṭṭs, opens with a long introduction in which the poet relates his discussion with two of his learned friends concerning man, his greatness, the means of acquiring an eternal name, and the various styles of elegant prose—that of the mashāikh or spiritual teachers, which may be likened to fire on account of its passion and fiery appeal ; that of the old scribes, dull and heavy like earth ; that which conbines the use of the two great artifices Īhām and Khayāl, an innovation of the author, which may be compared to water; and finally a peculiar style, rare and elusive like air, a specimen of which may be found in the letter of Badr Ḥājib to Prince Khiḍr Khān.[9]

The risāla illustrates the use of the intellectual artifices and contains sentences and letters bearing on different topics—law, exegeses, traditions and morality ; logic and philosophy ; grammar and lexicography. Among them there are a firman or proclamation issued by 'Alāuddīn Khaljī on his accession

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1 P. 2. (R.,II). 2 His patron and friend, p. 168. 3 P. 173.

4 P. 180 seq. Some of them are quite interesting and ingenius.

5 P. 242 seq. 6 P. 249 seq.

7 He names here : paikān, 'ajab-rūd ; chuhra (?), duhul, chang, rabāb, daff, nāy, ṭanbūr, dastak, dastān, shahnāi, bāblik, damsarfi (?) and batīra.

8 Other musicians mentioned are Moḥd. Shāh, Kunjashk, Khalīfa Ḥusainī Akhlāq, etc. Note that Moḥd. Shāh is also mentioned by Barni (p. 199).

9 See Elliot, iii, 566.

to the throne of Delhi[1]; the letter of Badr Ḥājib referred to above,[2] another very humorous one describing the mischievous discussions of two refractory youths with their grandfather on points of law,[3] another addressed to his son Yamīn-uddīn Mubārak, etc.

The risāla closes with a very curious passage descriptive of the red rose (which he compares to various things) and the Prophet's liking for it, as expressed in the tradition 'The red rose is of my blood'.[4] The passage ends in a fervent prayer to God begging for mercy and forgiveness.

The letters in the risāla are short and expressive, and, although replete with figures of speech, are remarkably simple and interesting. Many of them are evidently addressed to fictitious persons, but there are some genuine letters that bear dates. The poet also mentions in them several books relating to various sciences which were apparently popular in his day. Among them are Panj Ganj, Kanz-i-fiqh, Akhbār-i-Nājīn, Akhbār-i-Nayyarain, etc.

5. *The fifth risāla*, comprising six khaṭṭs, contains, according to the poet's own statement, letters written in his younger days—before he evolved the new style that he explains in the first four risālas. Amongst the letters the most interesting are :—

(1) The proclamation issued by Ghiyāthuddīn Balban after the conquest of Lakhnauti[5]; composed in 680 H.

(2) The letter to Saifuddīn containing a very witty dialogue between the pen and the sword[6];

(3) One to Najmuddīn (Hasan) written in 687 from Oudh, when the author went there with Kaiqobād [7];

(4) A letter addressed to Tājuddīn Zāhid, describing in a very witty manner the havoc caused by heavy rains, the destruction of the author's house and other incidents[8];

(5) Another describing his own sufferings caused by the disease known as 'Rishta' or 'Nārū'[9];

and (6) Four humorous letters descriptive of a miserly Khwāja and his strange doings, the grievances of a 'mukhannath' due to the perverted tastes of the men of the times, and an assembly of ragamuffin clowns, broken-down buffoons and old worn-out dancers.

These last letters are a good specimen of a kind of humour, indecent even to the extent of vulgarity, popular with old Eastern writers, and not extinct even to-day.

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1 P. 104 seq. (R., IV). 2 P. 144 seq. 3 P. 177.
4 الورد الاحمر من عرقی. 5 P. 5 (R., V.) seq. See also supra.
6 P. 16 seq. 7 P. 49 seq. 8 P. 57 seq. 9 P. 67 seq.

The risāla is followed by a long epilogue of about eighteen pages in which the author speaks of his hard labours, requests to be excused for mistakes and repetitions as he did not have sufficient time to revise the book thoroughly, mentions how his friends, and particularly Shihābuddīn helped him in arranging and revising the work, and begs his critics to be lenient and just in their judgment of its merits. The epilogue ends in rather a despondent note, expressing regret at the passage of time and the futility of the fame the author has achieved by his labours.

This work has generally been adversely criticized by modern scholars, and it is true that there is not much in it that could interest us to-day. But we must remember that conditions were very different in Khusrau's time, and that the ideas of what constituted elegance and beauty in prose have changed considerably since then. Figures of speech and artifices were the soul of all compositions and their importance was great when Khusrau compiled the work. He at least introduced a healthy change by his innovations in as much as he attached more importance to ideas and intellectual figures of speech than to senseless alliterations, quips and puns. He was moreover supplying a pressing need of his age—a comprehensive work in Persian on the science of epistle-writing so eagerly sought after and so assiduously learnt by all literary men of olden days, and we have no doubt that he succeeded quite well. But even for a sophisticated modern reader there are plenty of things scattered in the pages of the vast book that are both interesting and instructive. There are some useful bits of information about the social conditions, the state of learning, the scholars, the sciences, and the political atmosphere of his age. There are, again, some important items concerning the poet's own biography, and there are pieces of a poignant, though perhaps a bit morbid humour, characteristic of a man of Khusrau's wide experience and sociable nature. Here is, for instance, a passage from the fifth risala that may well remain under the veil of the original:

,, روزی آن کفتار را دیدم شیر گرم بنرمی تفتیش کردم و گفتم هرگاه خواجهٔ تو درین خانه آید تو چه کار کنی گفت هر چاشتگاه طشتخانه را جاروب کشم چون ازان فارغ شوم درمیانهٔ روز خواجه را سبلت کنم تا خوابش می برد * یک روز جاروب طشتخانه را دیدم بموی تافته بسته بود گفتم بزموئیست گفت که مویء سبلت خواجه است * گفتم بریسمان چرا نبندی گفت بجهت ریسمان جیتل میباید خرج کرد * گفتم طشتخانه را نیک پاک کرده میداری سبب چیست گفت خواجه آنجا میرود چیزی تناول میفرماید گفتم در حوضخانه چرا تناول نمی کند گفت خواجهٔ من مرد دیوان دار است و حاجتمندان را بریش او حاجت شکم گرفته برو می آیند تا شکم خالی کنند و بروند * اگر او نان در حوضخانه خورد خود را مصادره کرده باشد* گفتم شکم خواجهٔ تو چرا بزرگست گفت همه روز غم باد باو صحبت میکند اگرچه بر فساد حمل شود آن

شکم ازوست،، * ۰۰۰۰۰ گفتم خواجهٔ تو شکم دارد ولی کون ندارد گفت کون داده است شکم ازانجا ستده است گفتم بغایت تخته کونست* گفت در آن تخته حسابهائی رفته که او تا قیامت سر بالا نتواند کرد* ۰۰۰ [1]

Here are, again, some appropriate prayers and curses (for a hunter) : 'May the bird of his soul perch on the hand of God ! God guard him from the hounds of hell ! May the crow lay eggs in his fat, may he be attached to the nails of wolves ! May he become a hog in his grave!'[2]

For a man named Gurzuddīn : دَخَلَ الخشبُ فی استه [3]

From a beloved for her dead lover : 'May his soul lie drunk with the sweat of our steed as long as it (the horse) prances on his grave !'[4]

Of a chess-player : 'May he die under the elephant !'[5]

Of a very virtuous sheikh :......'is a bird such that if the egg of Satan be placed beneath him (for hatching) Gabriel will come out of it !'[6]

Titles suitable for a buffoon : 'The ridicule of the age, the laughter of his peers, the accursed of the religion and the faith ; the fool of Islam and the Moslems !'[7]

For a clown addressed as Najāsat-uddīn, 'the Filth of the Faith': 'May Satan wet his moustache with his urine and may the Devil lay eggs in the hair of his chin'.[8]

Here are some satirical phrases : 'More tender-hearted than the despoiler of the dead'; 'More auspicious than the grave-digger'; 'Shyer than the nādāsht'; 'Kinder than the blacksmith'; 'Gentler than the governor ('āmil)'; 'More lawfully nourished than the usurers'; 'A better confidant than the backbiters'; 'More foresighted than the mill-ox'; 'More alert than the sleeping hare'.[9]

The lithographed edition of Lucknow is fairly correct and bears a brief marginal commentary. The work has never been printed. Manuscripts are numerous.

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1 From the description of the miserly Khwāja. The 'kaftār' is a vile, cunning old woman, an attendant of the Khwāja.

2 R. II, K. III.
3 R. II, K. IV.
4 R. II, p. 241.
5 R. II, p. 291, seq.
6 R. IV, p. 33.

7 R. V., K. VI : سُخرةُ الزّمان، ضُحْكَةُ الْاَقْران، رجیم المّلة و الدین، سَفیه الاسْلام و المسلمین

8 Ibid. : بال الشیطان علی شاربه و باض الابلیس فی ریش ذقنه.

9 Ibid., p. 137. Nādāsht, a special sect of 'beggars' in India, notorious for their obstinate and shamefaced supplications. They carry about horns and bones with which they inflict wounds on their bodies to frighten people, whence their other name, shākh-shāna.

(18) TARIKH-I-'ALA-

or

Khazāin-ul-Fūtūh.[1]

This short history of the reign of 'Alāuddīn was completed by Khusrau in 711 H. and narrates the events that took place between the years 695 H. and 711 H. Khusrau himself gives the reason for its composition as follows :

'The humble slave Khusrau whose pen, in spite of all its power and versatility, is unable to compass the barest fraction of the glorious king's praises, had been destined to sing of the glories of this reign, and God in His bounty opened to him the doors of all the treasures in the sky and on the earth giving him such jewels as had been denied even to men like Buhtāri and Abū Tammām. Yet still these priceless jewels were not worthy of being scattered on the heaven-like threshold of the mighty monarch. But as nowhere in the market of nature could one obtain a better commodity, I had, perforce, to be content with stringing them together for a present in the hope that they will be accepted by the king who is an ocean of generosity. When I saw that the wry and twisted words of this slave won the benign approval of the king I was tempted to try my hand in prose, as I had done in poetry, for perchance the king may deign to look at my composition as the sun looks at the 'capable'[2] stone. Although my pen has always been devoted to poetry and has left untouched the beauties of prose, I dare present this bride to the king, knowing that the eye of great men does not pry into defects.[3] If I had an eternal life I could not spend it better than in singing the praises of the king, but as I know that life is short, I had to be content with having just a handful of water from the unfathomable sea of his excellence'.[4]

As this is the only contemporary history of 'Alāuddīn's reign, its historical importance can hardly be exaggerated, and in it, as in his historical poems, Khusrau has narrated the facts with admirable accuracy and wealth of detail. His language may be ornate and complicated, and his encomiums of the king

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1 Khusrau gives the name خزاين الفتوح in the opening verse which heads the work :

این نامه که نقد فتح دارد در جیب　　شد نام خزاین الفتوحش از غیب

The praise of God and the Prophet, of course, follows.

2 Sang-i-Qābil, i.e. the stone capable of turning into a ruby or a diamond by the light of the sun.

3 A proverb : (الی العیب ما مال عین العلی)

4 My translation is not literal. It gives only the sense of the original which is highly complicated and ornate.

high-flown and exaggerated, but his narrative is consistent and undistorted, and a thorough and comparative study of the work is sure to be amply repaid.[1]

From the literary point of view the book is as good, or as bad, as any of its kind, the Tājul-Maāthir, for instance. But it is certainly original in style. Khusrau has utilized in it all the various artifices he has outlined in the I'jāz-i-Khusrawī, the most striking being the division of the narrative into paragraphs of unequal length, each composed of analogies derived from a particular thing —stars, water, fire, and so on. The idea itself is a good one : it introduces variety into an otherwise hum-drum narrative and splits it up into divisions, each devoted to a particular topic, and in this respect it resembles another important innovation of Khusrau's—writing parts of a mathnawi in different metres. But one cannot help feeling sorry for the loss of time and energy caused by the adoption of such an artificial style in prose, and it is not very easy to follow the sense clearly through all the mazes of similes and metaphors. Khusrau, essentially a poet, has produced a work of art rather than a history, and although he has told the historical facts well, he could have told them better in a simpler and less laboured style.

The contents of the work, most of which we have already utilized, are as follows:

'Alāuddīn's expedition to Deogir when governor of Karra and Manakpore (Rabī' II, 695 H.).[2]

His march on Delhi and accession to the throne the same year.[3]

The measures adopted by him for the spread of peace and prosperity in the kingdom, and for the suppression of heresy and unlawful practices.[4]

His buildings : The Jāmi' Masjid, the 'Alāi Mīnār, the ramparts of Delhi, the Shamsī tank.[5]

His successful campaigns against the Mongols and the dire punishment meted out to them.[6]

The Conquest of Gujarat (698 H.) and of Ranthambhur (700 H.).[7]
The Conquest of Mālwa (705 H.).[8]

Of Chitor (703 H.) ; Punitive expedition against Deogir, under Malik Kāfūr (706 H.) and the Conquest of Siwana by the king himself in 708 H.[9]

The Conquest of Tilang (Talingana) by Malik Kāfūr, 709 H.[10]

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1 I have already utilized much of the historical material contained in it.

2 Fol. 4*b*. 3 Foll. 5*b* and 6. 4 Foll. 7*b*—11.

5 Foll. 11*b*—15*b*. 6 Foll. 16—22. 7 Foll. 22—26.

8 Foll. 26—29. 9 Fol. 29. 10 Foll. 32—35.

The Conquest of Ma'bar by Malik Kāfūr, 710 H. and the return of the victorious armies to Delhi in 711 H.[1]

Khusrau concludes with a short epilogue containing excuses for what he calls an imperfect and faulty composition, and prays God to make it acceptable to the king and popular with all men.[2]

The following literal translation of a passage will suffice to give an idea of the highly artificial style of this history.

'When the army of the Turks that is an ocean of fire has already burnt the thatched dwellings of our towns, it is apparent that its flames are powerful enough to convert the stones of our fortress into lime. This fortress called Dhur-Samandar, situated by a river, has always been held in respect, and even if we cannot totally put out the fire of the Turks' swords when it leaps up into flames, we should at least try to quench it, and since we have all to burn, let us not die without honour.' The Rai became hot at their words and thus disclosed the fire that burnt in his breast : 'Our old and respectable fire-worshippers, the lamps of whose minds burnt bright, have said clearly that never can the Hindu stay before the Turk or fire before water. When it is so we can do nothing but turn our faces away from the heat of the flames of the Turks' daggers. Let us not pour water[3] lest it be like oil on their flames and make us the fodder of fire in our lives. Let us discard insolence and pride ad like water place our heads on the ground to meet them, for thus perchance may the fire of their anger be a little cooled down'.[4]

The curious innovation of giving dates in the form of enigmas, first explained by Khusrau in his I'jāz-i-Khusrawī, has been very successfully employed by him in this work. The method, if a little puzzling, is, as Elliot points out, very helpful in the preservation of dates which, if given in figures or even words, are liable to gross mutilation and transformation in the hands of a careless scribe.[5] Thus the date of the defeat and capture of 'Alī Beg and Turtāq is given in the following sentence :

,,و در تاریخ سال معلوم شد که پایء علی بیک درسلسله افتد و سر و پای
ترتاق نیز همانجا گرفتار آید،، *

To find the date we have to add together the values of the 'foot' (= tail or the last letter) of 'Alī Beg, i.e. kāf together with that of silsila to the values

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1 ff. 35—56. 2 Foll. 84-85.

3 Āb rekhtan = to pour or shed water = to dishonour or put to shame.

4 Fol. 64*b*. The passage describes an argument between the rājah of Dhur-samandar and his advisers. The rājah is reluctant to fight. The analogies are all from water and fire.

5 For examples, see Elliot, iii, 68.

of the 'head' (=first letter) and 'foot' of Turtāq, i.e. tā and qāf. The total is thus 20+185+400+100=705 H.

Another striking feature of the work is the use of many single Arabic verses (مفردات), all composed by the poet himself, some of which are quite original in spirit. Thus he says of the elephants:

وَسَار الفيلُ و النظارُ قالوا اقيم الحشر سيّرت الجبالُ

Of 'Alāuddīn's military prowess:

وَ قد فُتِحتْ بصولته قلاعٌ كأزهار الشقايق بالرياح

Manuscripts of the work or very rare. The B.M. manuscript,[1] which I have consulted, is a fairly well-written copy and is complete. A lithographed edition has recently been published in Aligarh (1927). It is copied from the B.M.MS. referred to above, but unfortunately is full of mistakes, due either to faulty transcription or to careless editing.[2] A careful and annotated edition of this work would therefore be highly desirable.

(19) *Afḍal-ul-Fawāid.*

Afḍal-ul-Fawāid,[3] a comparatively short work, is a collection of the sayings of Niẓāmuddīn Auliyā, the author's spiritual guide. Written apparently in imitation of his contemporary Ḥasan's larger work, Fawāid-ul-Fuād, the Afḍal-ul-Fawāid is a book entirely different from either the I'jāz-i-Khusrawī or the Khazāin-ul-futūh. Its language extremely simple, easy, and unadorned by any figures of speech, provides a good specimen of Persian as it was spoken in Khusrau's time.

There is very little in this work that would attract the attention of an ordinary reader, but bits of useful information may be gleaned here and there by one interested in things spiritual. One may also, incidentally, find in it a few details about Khurau's own spiritual career, and something about his contemporaries, such as frequented the assemblies of the saint[4] and listened to his saintly utterances or to the more convival songs of the qawwāls that

1 Or. 1638. The only other known MS. is in the King's College Library (Cambridge). Or, 1638 was given to the Museum by Col. Yule.

Two other MSS have since been traced, one in the Panjab University Library, Lahore, and the other in the Lucknow University Library, and the work, edited by me has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Bibl. Ind. Series, Calcutta.

2 This is really deplorable, since the Editor, Mr. Mu'in-ul-Haq, according to his own statement, was helped by a number of eminent scholars in the preparation of the text published under the auspices of the Sulṭāniyah Historical Society. (See Preface, p. 5).

3 Khusrau gives the name on p. 110 when mentioning the presentation to the saint. (Delhi edition, 1304 H).

4 Among them are: Najmuddīn Ḥasan, 'Alā-i-Sanjari, the poet, Maulānā Wajīh-uddin Pāilī, Maulānā Shihābuddīn of Meerut, Maulānā Burhān-uddīn Gharīb,' Uthmān Sayyāh, etc.

kept them awake and restless with spiritual ecstasy. It is divided into four parts. The first part opens with a high-flown eulogy of the saint, and describes the poet's formal initiation into his spiritual circle in 713 H., when the saint gave him a four-cornered cap and an upper vest (barānī). Khusrau presented this portion to the saint in Jum¯d II, 719 H., and the saint granted him permission to continue the work, praising his efforts very highly, and giving away as a reward his own cap and robe. The second part, commenced after 719 H., was evidently left incomplete by Khusrau.1

The following about music may be of interest:

'Then they talked of how some darweshes when dancing in an assembly of sima'cry out and raise unmannerly shouts, and the Khwāja (God reward him well) spoke thus in his benign way: "They do a very bad thing, for the people of sima' have never done that, and it is not the way of the perfect ones. This sort of behaviour can be expected only from deluded novices, for Hasan Bāṣarī has said that if a person shouts in simā' you should be sure he is a devil and comes from the devil. A really spritual man is transported to the world of angels and is not forbidden from motion or dancing, for he swims in the ocean of cognizance (or gnosis) and is unconscious of the existence of the eighteen thousand worlds. Even as the gold melts in the crucible, so do the people of simā' in the world of bewilderment." '2

Here again is a passage about the mazāmīr or musical instruments:4

'On Thursday, the seventh of Shawwāl, I had the good fortune of kissing the Sheikh's feet. Those present were at that time talking of simā' and of those who listen to it, and just then a man came in and related that at a certain place a number of the saint's disciples had gathered together and had with them musical instruments. The Khwāja thereupon said: "I have often forbidden the use of such instruments and other unlawful things. What they have done is not good". And he laid great stress upon this point, even saying that the palm of one hand should not be struck upon the other, nor the back of one hand upon the palm of the other, meaning that clapping was strictly prohibited,4 and that it was better not to use instruments......He said afterwards: "All great sheikh's have enjoyed simā', and those who know its real worth and have taste and emotion are moved by a single verse heard from a musician, whether there be any instrument or not. But if one lacks the re-

1 See pp. 110 and 130. 2 page 112.

3 Pages 126-127. Mazāmīr (sing. mizmār) are particularly musical pipes or flutes (cf. the Persian nāy). Certain musical instruments, such as the 'daff' (timbrel) or the 'sitar' have been declared to be lawful by some authorities.

4 Dastak (Hindi, Tāl), beating time with hands, is a usual accompaniment of singing in the East.

quisite taste it avails him nothing that there be a number of musicians with instruments singing before him". So we know that this affair depends upon emotion and feeling and not on musical instruments.'

CHAPTER V.

F. Khusrau's Hindi Poetry.

Whether Khusrau wrote any Hindi poetry has recently been the subject of controversy. The old biographers and anthologists, both eastern and western, generally took it for granted that he did, and quoted ghazals, conundrums, verses, etc., given out to be Khusrau's, in their anthologies, without the least hesitation or misgiving as to their genuineness. But modern scholars, particularly those who have made a special study of the development of Hindi in India, are inclined to be sceptical about them. Their language, they point out, is very modern, almost identical, in fact, with the Kharī Bolī or spoken dialect of to-day, and very different from other specimens of Hindi found in prose and poetry of undoubted antiquity and established authorship.

That Khusrau knew Hindi (or Hindūi, as it was called in his time) we have no reason to doubt. He was born in India which had been his ancestors' home for several generations, and his mother was of Indian origin.[1] He must, then, have been throughly conversant with the spoken Hindi of his age, and much more familiar with it than were other contemporary writers who knew the language only through occasional contact with such Indians as could not speak Persian—their domestic servants, merchants, and so on. We have, moreover, ample proof of his proficiency in this language in his own writings. He uses Hindi words in several of his works, moderately and sparingly it is true, but very aptly.[2] That he does not employ them more often is not due to any want of knowledge but to his sensible dislike for introducing too many foreign words into a language that had already been losing its pristine purity in its new home. 'It is not very pleasant', he remarks, to introduae Hindui words into pure Persian, except when unavoidable. I have used them only where absolutely necessary'.[3] His own statements would indeed show that he knew Hindi better than Arabic and that he was quite

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1 This is clear from what he says about his maternal grandfather, 'Imād-ul-Mulk. See supra. That the latter was of a dark complexion and so fond of betel-leaves would show his Indian origin.

2 Thus he uses : basīth, pardhān, mār-mār, etc. in Khazāin-ul-futūḥ; kaṭāra (a dagger) :

سرآن دو چشم گردم که چو هندوان رهزن   همه را ز نوک مژگان بجگر زده کتاره

3 Dībācha to the Ghurra. Cf. 'Ashīqa.

proud of this. 'I am an Indian Turk', he declares, 'and can reply to you in Hindi. I have no Egyptian sugar to talk of Arabia and Arabic'.[1] 'As I am in fact', he says again, 'the Parrot of India, question me in Hindui that I may talk sweetly'.[2]

But did Khusrau write any poetry in the language which he professes to know so well ? A man of Khusrau's genius and temperament, one would think, could not help doing so, and he actually did so, according to his own statement made in words quite unequivocal. When speaking of his own works in the preface to his third dīwān, he says : 'I have scattered among my friends a few chapters of Hindūi poetry also, but I would be content here with a mere mention of this fact'.[3] Moreover, he gives a few specimens of verses capable of being interpreted both in Persian and Hindi.[4] It is no wonder, indeed, if Khusrau wrote Hindi verses, for according to his own statement, supported by other authorities, earlier poets of foreign origin had done so. Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd b. Salmān who lived many years before Khusrau was born is said to have composed a whole dīwān in that language,[5] and if we believe Firishta and Niẓāmuddīn, Hindi poetry was composed as early as the time of Maḥmūd of Ghazna.[6]

We have, however, no records whereby to judge the probable volume of Khusrau's Hindi poetry. His own statement, quoted above, would show that there was not much of it, and the assertion that it exceeded in bulk his Persian poetry would seem to be a little exaggerated. Nor, on the other

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1 Ibid. :

ترک هندوستانیم من هندوی گویم جواب شکر مصری ندارم کز عرب گویم سخن

2 Ibid. :

چو من طوطی هندم راست پرسی ز من هندوی پرس تا نغز گویم

3 Ibid. :

(جزوی چند نظم هندوی نیز نثر دوستان کرده شده است اینجا هم بذکری بسنده کردم)،

4 Thus :

آری آری همه بیاری آئی ماری ماری بره (که) ماری (آئی)

A similar quatrain is ascribed to him but unfortunately I could not trace it in any of the MSS. I consulted. It is as follows :

رفتم به تماشای کنار جوئی دیدم بلب آب زن هندوئی
گفتم صنما بهای زلفت چه بود فریاد برآورد که در در موئی

(See Sir G. Ouseley's Notices, p. 15).

5 Dībācha of Ghurra. Cf. Majma'-ul-Fuṣahā I, 515.

6 Nanda, the Raja of Kalanjar, is said to have addressed a panegyric in Hindi verse to Maḥmūd. Firishta, Vol. I, 31. (Year 413 H.)

hand, could the 'few chapters' referred to by Khusrau be all that he produced, for he lived many years after he wrote the preface to the Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl and must have made numerous additions.[1]

Unfortunately Khusrau seems to have had very little regard for his own Hindi verses. He probably scribbled the verses on bits of paper, and 'scattered' them, as he says himself, among his friends and thought no more about them. The production of Hindi poetry was to him a mere pastime, a diversion from his more serious efforts in Persian, the language of Firdausī, Khaqānī, Niẓāmī, and Sa'dī,—the language of his own ancestors,—which could never be equalled in importance by the language of Hindustān whatever the poet's sentimental regard for it might have been. We can easily understand Khusrau's neglect of his Hindi verses when we consider that even in comparatively modern times Persian was considered to be the literary language par excellence by the Mohammadans of India. Ghalib, the great poet of Delhi, whose fame to-day rests almost entirely on his small dīwān of Hindustani or Urdu poetry, attached a much greater importance to his Persian poetry which few Indians read to-day. 'Look at my Persian verse', he says, 'if you want to see multi-coloured images, and leave aside my Urdu collection, for it is devoid of my true colour'.[2] It is certain, therefore, that Khusrau never collected his Hindi verses in his life, and probably no collections were made immediately after his death. All, then, that we could expect to inherit of them through long centuries would be odds and ends, scrappy poems and isolated verses that caught the fancy of the populace and were transmitted orally or through private collections or bayāḍs to the succeeding generations. And such is exactly the nature of what to-day is alleged to be Khusrau's Hindi poetry.[3]

This poetry, the genuineness of which has been subjected to grave doubts in recent times, consists mostly of small songs, dohās (couplets), riddles and conundrums, a ghazal with alternate Persian and Hindi lines, a 'mukhammas' with every fifth line in Persian, some quatrains, and the small tract known as 'Khāliq Bārī', a poem of mixed vocabulary. Most of it has been consistently and persistently ascribed to Khusrau by the old anthologists who apparently never doubted its authorship ; but grave doubts can be raised on this point on linguistic grounds. The language of this poetry is the language of

1 This, incidentally, also contradicts Garcin de Tassy's statement that Khusrau did not write any Hindi poetry except at the end of his life. He was only 37 when he collected the Ghurra and he had already written some. (Lit. Hind. I, 301).

2 فارسی بین تا ببینی نقشہای رنگ رنگ بگذر از مجموعۂ اردو کہ بیرنگ من است

3 See Khusrau Kī Hindi Kawita, Misra Bandhu Vinad (Hist. of Hindi Lit. by Misra Brothers, Vol. I, pp. 233—280); Āb-i-Ḥayāt (Delhi, 1896, pp. 65—71); Garcin de Tassy (I, p. 301).

to-day.[1] How could Khusrau, in the thirteenth century, know the Hindi which is spoken now round and about Delhi? Why has no other old Hindi writer used that language ? The questions are pertinent, and it is not easy to answer them. We do not know what exactly was the Hindi of Khusrau's time, for there is no specimen of it except what we find in these disputed verses. We know that Hindi[2] was the name given in his time to a dialect spoken in and about Delhi, that the dialect had fairly developed by that time, was capable of being utilized for literary purposes,[3] and that poems were composed in it.[4] What reason, we may ask, is there to suppose that the dialect has changed a good deal since then—that the spoken Hindi of his day was materially different from the Hindi of to-day ? A language, once it has crystallized into a definite form, would not change very much with the lapse of time least of all in India where everything moves so slowly and where there have been really few influxes of foreign linguistic elements. Why can we not believe that a peasant or a 'bania' of Delhi in the 13th century spoke almost the same language as his descendants do to-day, when we know that the latter have almost the same physique, and physiognomy, the same dress, the same habits, and the same customs as their remote ancestors had ? One can well imagine a Delhi jāt driving out his team of bullocks in the early morning with a 'chaddar' wrapped round his sturdy limbs, to be the exact image of his great-great-grandfather. Why can't we imagine his words to be the exact echo of that distant ancestor's ?

It would, therefore, seem to me to be unreasonable to declare this poetry apocryphal on linguistic grounds. There may be parts of it which are later compositions tacked on to the genuine ones: that has happened in every country and in every age.[5] But there must have been an original foundation, a real prototype (although it would, of course, be very difficult to recognize it among the clever graftings and superstructures) and that foundation could not necessarily have been very different from the additions.[6] It is possible, again, that succeeding copyists have made slight modifications according

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1 It is wrong to assume that the Hindi in which Khusrau wrote was Brij Bhāsha. Brij Bhāsha and the dialect spoken in Delhi are two different branches of Western Hindi.

2 More correctly Hindūi, for that is how Khusrau always calls it.

3 See Nuh Sipihr and the 'Ashīqa.

4 See Supra.

5 The rubā'iyāt of Omar Khayyam are an eloquent instance of this tendency.

6 The very fact that these things have been, from oldest times, ascribed to Khusrau would show that Khusrau did write something of the sort. There would be no point, for instance, in ascribing a fine landscape to an artist who painted only portraits.

to the idiom of the time in the forms of the words employed by Khusrau. Yet the intrinsic excellence of some of these poems, the originality of their style, and the wit and humour pervading them mark them out clearly to be the work of a great master like Khusrau, and we have no reasons to disbelieve the popular tradition when it says that Khusrau himself wrote them. Their meagre volume would, moreover, preclude the probability of any wholesale grafting.

The other objection, namely that when the oldest Hindi compositions are in High Hindi which was the recognized literary language of old times, why should Khusrau's poems be in 'Kharī Bolī',[1] can be easily answered. Khusrau's greatest passion was originality. He always wanted to do something new, to break away, as far as possible, from the trammels of custom and tradition and to tread paths hitherto untouched by human feet. His Persian poetry and prose are sufficient proof of the existence in him of this dominant passion, and it is easily conceivable that the same love of innovation goaded him to write Hindi verse in a new style. He had, moreover, probably no intention and no ambition to leave behind him a literary monument in Hindi, a classic like the Padamāwat of Moḥd. Jāysī,[2] and so had no occasion to follow any literary traditions and regulations. He wrote Hindi verse just to amuse himself and his friends, and he could, one would think, do that best in the ordinary, familiar language of every-day talk. Most of the poems, songs, riddles, etc., such as are given in Khusrau's Hindi Kawīta, have therefore to be taken as Khusrau's compositions, in the absence of any convincing proofs to the contrary.

I would like to say here only a few words about the versified Persian-Hindi vocabulary, the Khāliq Bārī, popularly ascribed to Khusrau. The work, a small one in its present form but said to have been originally written in several volumes, possesses very little of literary interest, though a linguist may find it instructive. It is divided into parts of unequal length in different metres, giving Hindi equivalents for Persian and Arabic words.

The authorship of this work has been the subject of much controversy. The author of Jawāhir-i-Khusrawī recently tried to prove that it was really Khusrau's work. He was supported in his conclusion by my able friend Syed Mas'ūd Ḥasan Rizavī of the Lucknow University. Their arguments briefly are as follows :

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1 *Vide* History of Hindi Literature by Misra Brothers (Vol. I, Introduction, p. vi).

2 See Introduction (p. 1) to Text edited by Grierson and Sudhakara (Calcutta, 1911). Other old writers were Chandra Barde and Vidyapati Thakur (1400 A. D.). It may be interesting to note that this book is in the Oudhi dialect, which was apparently different from the Hindi of Delhi in Khusrau's time.

1. Khusrau's age was a time when the need for such a vocabulary was pressing and a man of his versatile genius and indefatigable energy was sure to turn his attention to it;

2. It has always been considered to be Khusrau's composition. The author of the 'Allāh Khudāi', written in imitation of the Khāliq Bārī, for instance, seeks help from the soul of Khusrau in the opening verses of his poem;

3. It contains certain words, such as 'jītal', common in Khusrau's time, but unfamiliar to later writers;

4. The last verse contains Khusrau's name so aptly and naturally as to leave no doubt about the authorship.

But another scholar who has made a careful study of the development of Urdu, especially in the Punjab, is disinclined to agree with the above view and thinks it is a shame to ascribe to a great poet like Khusrau a work that is of no literary value, is corrupt in its arrangement, and is full of repetitions, defects of rhyme and irregularities of metre.[1]

The essentially discursive and matter-of-fact nature of the work, giving but few opportunities for the display of poetic talent, makes it all the more difficult to come to any definite conclusion about the Khāliq Bārī, and much can be said for and against its being from the pen of Khusrau. It may or may not be Khusrau's work, and even if it be, can hardly add much to the glory of the 'Parrot of India'. What would a little feather of a sober hue signify in a plumage glittering with gold and silver and the brightest colours of the rainbow ? It is, I think, idle to discuss the question any further, unless we can get fresh material for coming to a surer decision. The work in question is hardly of sufficient importance for hot controversies to be waged over its origin.

CHAPTER VI.

Khusrau—The Man.

There have been in the history of the world but few instances of a scholar or a poet acquiring a popularity and a fame like those of Khusrau. We may think, perhaps, of Byron and Shakespeare in England, of Goethe in Germany, and of Sa'dī in Persia. But it was the personality of Khusrau, his ready wit, his flowing humour, his versatile genius and his amiable disposition, rather than his poetry, that rendered him known all over India. Centuries have elapsed since the 'Parrot of India' sang his last song and the voice that had charmed princes and peasants was hushed for ever, yet the memory of his name is as fresh to-day as ever. One may still hear a venerable old man relate

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1 Punjab men Urdū (Urdu in the Punjab) by Hāfiz Mahmūd Sherānī. Lahore, 1927.

an anecdote about the poet to eager young ears, a street urchin shout out a particularly gay couplet of the poet while intent on his game of marbles, darweshes dancing in mad rapture to the words of one of his ghazals, and women singing in melodious chorus some of his Hindi songs.

The first thing that strikes one from a perusal of Khusrau's work is a keen sense of humour. He was comparatively a religious man, observed probably the principal ordinances, said his prayers, and fasted.[1] He did not drink wine, or at least was not addicted to it. In his old age he was a regular attendant at the monastery of his sheikh. Yet he was not a dry ascetic. He laughed and sang, listened to beautiful dancing girls, and was present at the merry wine-parties of princes, and was as much at home in a motley crowd of buffoons and clowns as in a learned gathering of savants.[2] He saw the misery in life and was some-times sad, but he carried his sorrows lightly. He saw what was ridiculous and droll, and he laughed at it. He laughed at pedantic scholars, at intolerant bigots, at hypocritical ṣūfīs, at miserly princes, and at ambitious plagiarists. Yet his laughter had in it nothing of malice; it was as light as his spirits, good-humoured and amusing.

A great tolerance, such as must have been rare in his age, is the other prominent feature of the poet's character. He had few racial, religious, or social prejudices. He was proud of his Turkish descent, but he was loud in his praise of India—its sweet flowers, its language, and its dark beauties, and had not the slightest touch of that bitter sentiment that made Khwāja-i-Kalān utter the well-known verse on the eve of his departure from India : 'If once I cross the Indus in peace and safety and think again of returning to India, may my face be blackened'.[3]

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1 See his fine qaṣida, written in Ramaḍān, (B.N., I.O. MS., 1187, ff. 35—38) beginning :

نو بهار امسال ما را روزه فرماید همی   گل چنان تر دامن از می لب نیالاید همی

and another beg. :

ماه من روزه میان شکرستان دارد   ای مسلمانان کسی روزه بدینسان دارد

and another with the rhyme : روزه

2 See I'jāz-i-Khusrawī. That Khusrau was not a rigid abstainer may be seen from the following (I.O. MS., 1187, f. 144) :

مرا سوال کنی هر زمان که خرچه بود   اگر تو می نخوری نام تو دگر چه بود

ز ذوق باده صراحی نه آگهست آری   ز نقش آب بط کور را خبرچه بود

ازین سپس من و سیخ و کباب و مطرب و می   حریف هر که درآید شراب هرچه بود

3 اگر بخیر و سلامت گذر ز سند کنم   سیاه روی شوم گر هوای هند کنم

Vide Baber-Nāmah (Bev. Trans. II, 525; Text f. 296).

It is true, he could not free himself entirely from a certain amount of haughty pride and a contempt for the conquered race. He calls the Hindus 'crow-faced', warns the King against allowing them too much power,[1] ridicules some of their rites and beliefs,[2] and seems to be jubilant over the destruction of their temples. But at the same time he is sincerely touched by the grievances of the Hindu ryots and is emphatic in his denunciation of oppressive 'āmils and 'a'wāns. He often praises the Hindus in his writings. He admires their learning, their language, their devotedness and faithfulness, quite as enthusiastically as the warlike exploits of their conquerors.

It was largely due to this broad-mindedness and want of prejudice that Khusrau acquired such popularity. He was sought after by everyone. His presence in an assembly lighted, so to say, another candle. Nobles and princes contested for his services and vied with one another in rewarding him. Khusrau, on his part, was apparently quite content to pass from one patron to another. Like a wandering minstrel he went from door to door, tuned his lyre to a different pitch according to time and convenience, and sang with as much gusto the praises of a murderer as those of his victim. But we should not judge him by his glowing odes alone. Khusrau had to write them to earn his bread and to keep peace with those in power. That he had, in fact, a strong hatred for high-flown panegyrics is clear from several of his remarks. He had an inherent dislike for falsehood and hypocrisy, but circumstances often forced him to throttle his conscience. Yet he never stooped to meanness, and never degraded his art by a wholesale production of panegyrics. His 'mamdūḥ', as he himself claims, was always a king or a prince, and he never betrayed a patron in whose service he happened to be.[3] If he praised other men, it was only at the request of his patron and then too he

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1 See supra.

2 He says, 'I am amazed at the dung-worshipping Hindus', alluding to their reverential belief in the virtues of cow-dung (ولی ز هندوی سرگین پرست درعجبم)
and elsewhere :

هندوانرا مشمر ز آدمیان کہ کہ گاو تبارک گیرند
زاغ که خوار به هنگام سخن بهتر از طوطیٔ و شارک گیرند
بوالعجب کون خرانی که زجهل بانگ خر فال مبارک گیرند

B.M. MS. 25807, fol. 437*b*).

3 'My poetry is not like that of other poets' he says, 'for I have never praised any other than the patron in whose service I have been'. (Dībācha to Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl).

'poured just a drop of his own pure honey into the cup of their praise'[1] without the slightest expectation of monetary reward. 'If, however,' he declares, 'they out of their generosity offered some reward and I accepted it, it was no more than the price of the paper that contained my verses—even if it was a thousand 'nabāti' tangahs, for......no one can buy a single verse from me, as nobody could ever sell paradise'.[2]

He was generous with his money, and had the greatest contempt for miserliness. He shared his rich earnings with his friends and relatives, and it is in his dealings with these that we see the real man that lay concealed under the mask of the courtier and the panegyrist. His love for his mother was unbounded and he loved his brother and his own children with a great affection. Two of his sons died in his lifetime and he mourns them in some of the finest elegies in his dīwāns.[3] His daughter, too, had a huge share of his affections and he has addressed a whole chapter of the Hasht Bihisht to her.[4] The advices given by the poet to his 'paradise daughter' would, of course, appear to be stern and puritanic to a modern reader. One may almost conclude from some of them, as Shiblī does,[5] that Khusrau did not think too highly of the intellectual and moral strength of women and was an advocate of rigorous confinement. But what else could one expect from any man of that age ? That he had the highest esteem for the tender love of a mother, a sister or a wife, we cannot deny,[6] and if he has been led to make some disparaging remarks about women in general, we should not condemn him hastily. He is certainly much more respectful towards them than the great Persian writer Sa'dī.

Unlike Sa'dī, again, Khusrau never preaches duplicity and hypocrisy. He himself avoided these as far as possible in word and deed, and always advised others to be frank and sincere. He had numerous friends and to some of them he was greatly attached and always expressed his gratitude for their help. He had numerous rivals, too, some of whom seem to have harassed him a good deal, but he did not worry himself about them. His attitude to-

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1 (از عسل بی نحل خود بقدر مگسی در قدح مدح او ریختم)

2 Dībācha: Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl. :

یک بیت را ز من نتواند خرید کس زیرا که کس بهشت برین را بهانه کرد

3 Their names were Muhammad and Hāji See elegies in the Kulliyāt.

4 Nawal Kishore, p. 21 seq.

5 Shi'rul'ajam, II, p. 125.

6 See the passage in Leylā and Majnūn where the poet speaks of his mother. One of the proverbial expressions given by him in I'jaz-i-Khusrawī is 'A charity more sincere than the love of sisters'.

wards them was one of good-humoured contempt, for he knew he was far above them.[1] With the most powerful of them, Hasan, he had indeed formed a deep friendship and often styles him 'my brother'.[2]

CHAPTER VII.

Khusrau—The Artist.

Among the first and foremost essentials of poetry, and especially that of the highest order, is a keen sense of the picturesque and the beautiful, as will as the ugly and the grotesque, and withal a power to portray the aspects of nature in a manner both convincing and lucid. The poet has to choose his fancies and to choose his words ; he has to select such particulars as will best illustrate his point, and to tell them in the most suitable words. Descriptive poetry, in particular, requires a great command of language and a very judicious selection and combination of words, and Khusrau was undoubtedly one of the few Persian poets who have excelled in this art.

Niẓāmī, in his Khamsa, has produced some wonderful specimens of descriptive poetry. His language is affected and his analogies some-times far-fetched, but on the whole the result is a highly artistic picture.[3] Sa'dī, too, comes out occasionally with a very brilliant simile or metaphor. But no poet before Khusrau's time had developed the art to such perfection as the did. The whole of his poem Qirān-us-Sa'dain, as we have seen, is a collection of brilliant pen-pictures illustrating various and diverse things. Similar and equally good sketches are abundantly scattered throughout his works. He describes briefly and vigorously. Thus, to quote an instance, he says of the wily slave engaged by Khusrau Parwīz to give Farhād the false news of Shirin's death:

'The King had a negro guard, sour-visaged, wry-tongued. In his demon-like face he resembled a minister of hell, and in his senseless talk he was like the jack-daw. His belly was like a furnace full of fire and his mouth like that of an irreconcilable money-lender. Nobody ever saw his mouth closed or one of his lips touch the other. Quarrelsome, of devilish disposition, a scoundrel ready to fight and scuffle, he abused vilely those whom he praised before their faces. If one was absent from his home for some days, he would tell

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1 He says : 'The barking of dogs on a full-moon night denotes only the perfection of the moon'. (Dibācha to Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl).

نباح الكلب يشهد ليل بدر　　على ان الكمال لجرم بدر

2 See supra (Life).

3 For some very fire examples see 'Uber die Bildersprache Nizamis' by Hellmut Ritter (1927).

his relatives that he was dead. He laughed merrily in funerals and scattered dust on his head in weddings.'

He says in his description of the Yājūj[1]:

'A crowd wandering everywhere like demons, they shame with their swift movements the ghouls of the wilderness. Countless in numbers, scattered over miles and miles, they are like the sand particles in a desert or the thorns on a mountain. If they betook themselves to a river to drink from it, in a moment the river would be dry. Flowers and grass disappear wherever they go. Their eyes are as small as those of the carcass-eating dogs and in the length of their ears they have excelled asses : neither modesty nor wisdom can one behold in those narrow eyes and those long ears. Their ears hang down unto their feet like a skirt, yet hide none of their ugliness. They go to sleep contentedly with one ear below and the other above, for their ears are their cloaks, their armour, their silk and cotton garments. Their brows, wrinkled knot upon knot and their beards hanging down to their knees, their bodies covered with a blanket of thick hair, their eyelashes yellow, their faces red and their eyes blue,......they have big bellies, small feet and long nails. They appear naked before one another freely and have shame niether before a child nor a mother. Day and night they revel in concupiscence and none of them dies unless he has produced a thousand. In their fruitless mountains and inauspicious abode where an owl could be called a bird of good omen, they can get no better food than the khartūt.'[2]

Other instances of Khusrau's wonderful power of portraiture can be, found in his descriptions of the captive Mongols,[3] the charms of Leyla and Dewaldī, the musicians and dancing-girls,[4] and scores of other passages.

He was also a great artist in the selection of apt similes ; and here, too, we discover instances of his originality. He would disregard, for example the old classic simile of comparing the graceful gait of the beloved to that of a peacock or a pheasant, and liken it instead to that of a pigeon.[5] The killing eyes of the beloved he would compare to Hindu robbers with 'katāras' rather than to murderous Turks.[6]

The use of musical words and metres[7] is, again, one of his great characteristics, and he often produces a quaint effect by the use of an unfamiliar

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1 Aina-i-Sikandari.

2 A kind of insipid mulberry.

3 Qirān-us-Sa'dain.

4 Nuh Sipīhr.

5 Dībācha of Ghurrāt-ul-Kamal :

(خرام آن صنم نازنین بعیاری کبوتری بخرام آمده است پنداری)

6 (سرآن دوچشم گردم که چو هندوان رهزن همه را به تیغ مژگان بجگر زده کتاره)

7 See Nuh Sipihr (supra).

rhyme. Thus, one of the ghazals has for its rhyme words like Tatta, jatta, latta, matta, patta, albatta, etc.[1]

This naturally brings us to the question of Khusrau's attainments in music. He has since very remote times been regarded to have been as great in music as in poetry, and able to express in musical numbers even the sounds produced by a gong or a carder's bow.[2] Tradition, again, ascribes to him the invention of the sitār as well as of several new melodies compounded of Persian and Indian tunes, and he is said to have defeated in an open contest a famous musician of the Deccan, Nāyak Gopāl by name.[3] That Khusrau had studied well the science of music is abundantly clear from his writings. He seems to have been quite familiar with the Persian system and to have known well all its intricacies—the four usūls, the twelve pardahs, and so on.[4] He knew well also the Indian system and was a great admirer of it.[5] Musical contests, too, would appear to be a favourite pastime of his day, and Khusrau did apparently take a keen interest and an active part in them.[6] It is quite reasonable, therefore, to believe that he made some attempts to combine the Persian and Indian systems and to evolve new melodies characteristic of the new Indo-Persian culture of India. But it is difficult to determine exactly the extent or importance of the modifications introduced by him. According to an old Persian work on Indian music (which is supposed to be a translation of an older work written in the time of Rajah Mānsingh of Gwaliyar), he invented the following new melodies : mujīr, sāzgārī, aiman, 'ushshāq, muwāfiq, ghazan, zilaf, farghāna, sarparda, bākharz, firodast, mun'am (?), qaul, tarana, khayāl, nigār, basīt, shāhāna, and suhila.[7]

It is useless to enter here into the technical niceties of music or to try to establish the identity of all his inventions, but there is no doubt that the

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1 سروی چو تو در او چه و در تته نباشد　　گل مثل رخ خوب تو البته نباشد الخ

2 He is said to have expressed the latter thus :

از پیء جانان جان هم رفت، جان هم رفت، این هم رفت و آن هم رفت،
آنهم رفت اینهم، آنهم، اینهم، آنهم، آنهم رفت، جان هم رفت : الخ.

(*Vide* Āb-i-Ḥayāt).

3 Ragdarapan ; Hayāt-i-Khusrau, p. 72. See, however, 'Notices on Persian Poets', XXII, where 'Naik' Gopāl is said to have lived in Akbar's time.

4 See Qiran-us-Sa'dain, p. 163 seq. : I'jāz-i-Khusrawi, R. II, p. 280 seq.

5 See Sipihr : I'jāz-i-Khusrawī R. II, p. 288.

6 See I'jāz-i-Khusrawī (R. II, p. 180 seq.), where he mentions the arrival of the musicians from Khorasan and invites Indian musicians to compete with them so that the 'dovepigeons of Bālā may know how the Indian birds sing'.

(که تا درست شود قمریان بالا را　　که مرغ چون بود اندر بهار هندوستان)

7 Ragdarapan : cf. Shibli.

popular melodies qaul and ghazal were first introduced into Indian music by Khusrau. Qawwāls all over India recognize him to be their master, even to-day.

Khusrau's innovations, however, were not universally acclaimed. His independence of thought and love of things new had led him to break away from the old traditions and to form a schismatic school which has always been looked down upon by the supporters of the classical system.[1] To any impartial lover of music, nevertheless, the change would seem to be healthy and pleasant. It is a pity, indeed, that no more men of Khusrau's calibre were born in India to drag her music out of the old stagnant pool.

The invention of the sitār, again, has been so persistently ascribed to Khusrau that it is now generally accepted to be a fact beyond doubt. The sitar, originally meaning a three-stringed instrument,[2] is a simplified form of the old Indian instrument vīna (which is said to have been invented by Mahādeo himself[3]), and might at any time have been evolved in India. Khusrau's age would, perhaps, seem to be a time particularly suited for this evolution. But unfortunately I have not been unable to trace the name 'sitār' anywhere in Khusrau's writings, although there are pages full of the description of the various instruments used in his time. Nor does any of his contemporary, or even later writers mention the name. The only instrument peculiar to India (and probably a new invention) would seem to be the 'ajab rūd, which does not appear to resemble the sitār at all. Indeed, it is hard to trace the name in any but the comparatively modern Persian literature of India, while it occurs in Turkish and Persian poetry of a much earlier date.[4] This would induce one to presume that the sitar was originally invented in Persia, or rather Caucasia, and was introduced into India in later times. The 'tār', in fact, is the national musical instrument of Caucasia and Georgia to-day, and it was probably from these countries that the instrument spread into the western lands under the names of zither, guitar, etc. But still the fact remains that even some reliable authorities ascribe to Khusrau the invention of this intrument, and there is no doubt that it was evolved from earlier instruments

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1 See Wājid 'Alī Shāh's 'Ṣaut-ul-Mubārak', p. 42 seq. He describes Khusrau as a 'nāyak' of Khayāl as opposed to that of Dhūrpād, and his disciples as Khayālīs. According to him Khusrau invented the tunes known as Tarāna, Chhand, Parband gīt, qual, qilbānah, naqsh and gul. See also Āin-i-Akbarī, Text II, 139-39.

2 It has now generally seven strings.

3 Others ascribe its invention to Nared, the mythological son of Brahma and Saraswati. See Asiatis Researches III, p. 67. For a description of the instrument, see ibid., I, p. 295 seq.

4 Even Abul Faḍl, for instance, does not mention it in the list of Indian musical instruments. (Āin-i-Akbarī II, pp. 138-39).

during the time when Persian and Indian cultures came into close contact. The sitār, which resembles the Persian ṭanbūr or 'ūd in shape and the Indian vīna in principle, is itself an epitome of the Indo-Persian civilization.

Whether, however, Khusrau actually produced any new musical instrument or not, it is certain that he was highly skilled in the science of music, had, in fact, probably won the title of Nāik or Nāyak,[1] and introduced important and valuable changes into the old Indian system.

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1 See Ṣaut-ul-Mubārak, pp. 42 and 47, where the term is defined as meaning 'one who knows the three 'surs' or 'mats'. The title was the highest for a musician, the lower grades being : pundit, gunī, gandarp, and gāin. According to the author, Khusrau was only nāik-i-khayāl and not nāik-i-dhurpad, and by his innovations 'destroyed all the regulations and instruments established for thousands of years', while his disciples in their audacity 'vied with the kalāwants, the representatives of the system that dates back to the time of Mahādeo.'

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APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

The Tughlaq Nāmah

Since the completion of my thesis in 1929, the Tughlaq Nāmah of Amīr Khusrau, which was believed to have been irretrievably lost has been discovered and published at Hyderabad.[1] The work was first found by the late Maulvi Rashid Ahmed of Aligarh in the library of M. Habib-ur-Rahman Sherwani where it lay unnoticed under the title of 'Jāhangīr Nāmah. It would seem to be a curious irony of fate that when Nawab Ishaq Khan, in the course of his wide and strenuous search for the works of Khusrau, approached M. Habib-ur-Rahman, the latter told him that he knew nothing about the Tughlaq Nāmah. Maulvi Rashid Ahmed, however, studied the so-called Jahāngīr Nāmah very carefully and came to the conclusion that it was the long-lost mathnawī of Khusrau prefaced by a few verses by Ḥayātī who, at the desire of Jahāngīr, undertook the onerous task of completing the mathnawī that had lost its opening and concluding chapters.[2] The learned Maulvi even wrote a masterly introduction to the work, wherein he tried to establish its authorship. Unfortunately, however, he died before he could complete that introduction and the work again lay unheeded for a number of years.

Recently Mr. Syed Hashimy happened to see a copy of the Habibgunj MS., and after a critical perusal of the poem and the introduction by M. Rashid Ahmed was entirely convinced that the poem was the Tughlaq Nāmah itself, and made the happy decision of editing and publishing it. He based his reading of the text on the copy referred to above and the original manuscript, which is so far believed to be the only one in existence.

The published work is preceded by a fairly lengthy discussion about the loss and discovery of the Tughlaq Nāmah and its historical importance, a notice on Ḥayātī, a very thorough analysis of the poem and the incomplete introduction by M. Rashid Ahmed. The Editor must have been considerably hampered in his task by the fact that the manuscript is unique and, apparently, not very carefully written. He has, however, done the work with admirable industry and intelligence, although there still remain several verses that are doubtful and unintelligible, many others that could have been read better by a little more attention, and a fairly large number containing what would appear to be misprints undetected by the Editor, for he does not mention them in the corrigenda.

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1 Published by the Majlis-i-Makhṭūṭāt-i-Fārsī (1933).

2 Ḥayātī Kāshī, a court poet of Jahangir. The Emperor rewarded him handsomely for this work. In his introductory verses, he says :—

ازان دفتر ولی ز آغاز و انجام   سخن را نی نشان نی قصه را نام

شد از حضرت اشارت کای فلانی   سخن را ای سروش آسمانی

چنین باید که گردد این کهن نو   شود تا شاد از ما روح خسرو

(Tughlaq Nāmah, p. 6).

In its present form the mat͟hnawī contains altogether, 2,896 verses of which 179 belong to Ḥayātī and the rest (2,717) to Khusrau.[1] Ḥayati, as he says himself, was asked to write the opening as well as the concluding chapters of the poem; but, although he apparently did write them, the concluding verses are missing.[2] The introductory verses contain praise of God and a eulogy on Jahāngīr. K͟husrau's Tug͟hlaq Nāmah opens with two isolated couplets beleived to be a remnant of the portion containing 'ḥamd' and 'na't'. They are followed by a story illustrative of how a worthless thing acquires value by the apprecition of a great man, and the poet, with the usual apologetic remarks about the quality of his work, expresses the hope that it would gain renown by the benign approval of the King. The following chapters, twenty-four in number, are all headed by rubrics in vesre (abyāt-i-silsilah).[3]

It would be useless to discuss here the authenticity of the poem. The arguments given by M. Rashid Ahmed and the Editor are sufficient to dispel all doubts on that point. To these I may just add one more that came to my mind during the perusal of the mat͟hnawī. In one of his odes in the Nihāyat-ul-Kamāl, written soon after Tug͟hlaq's victory over K͟husrau K͟hān, K͟husrau compares the former to Abū Muslim, 'the avenger of 'Ali's family' and it is significant that the same simile occurs more than once in the mat͟hnawī.[4]

Below I give a brief summary of the poem.

The poet first tells us how the king selected him from amongst the poets of his 'paradise-like' court, each one of whom was a 'sweet-tongued Firdausī, to write the story of his victory and how he complied with that request. The story then commences with a description of the licentious life of Mubārak Shāh, his unbounded favours to the ungrate-

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1 Not counting the abyāt-i-silsilah, which we should not, as the Editor does, include in the mat͟hnawī proper. According to Amīn Rāzi and Ḥājji K͟halīfa the complete poem contained three thousand couplets, so that 283 couplets are missing.

2 He says (Tug͟hlaq Nāmah, p. 10) :—

ازین سان سحر آرائی عنوان   بجادو معجز افزائی عنوان
....بسوئی خاتمه برزن عنانی   گذر کن بر بشهرستان جانی
برو بوهش (درو بامش؟) زجان و دل سرشته
همه فرش رهش بال فرشته

3 They run as follows :—

خطاب حضرت شاه وازو خواهش به بستاخی
که از چشم رضا ومرحمت بیند درین دفتر

4 See for instance p. 107 :—

مگر بو مسلم مرد از زمین خاست
ملک خاقان ملک زاد از کمین خاست

and p. 139 :—

چو حیدر شیر یزدان رفت زان پس
جز از بو مسلم آمد این قدر بس

ful slave, Khusrau Khān, the murder of the king by that slave assisted by Barādūs or Barāwūs[1] on the first of Jumad II, 720 H., the sacrilege of the royal harem and the usurpation of the crown by Khusrau Khān with the connivance and active help of several nobles, Musalman and Hindu. Among the latter he mentions Maldeo and Nagdeo with their retainers consisting of Chandals and Meos. He then gives an account of the cruel fate of the five younger brothers of Mubārak Shāh who were snatched away from the arms of their distracted mothers, the two elder ones being killed and the remaining three blinded.[2]

The poet then remarks how all the governors and nobles consented to Khusrau Khān's rule placidly, so that 'neither a Turk lifted the Turkish lance nor a Hindu slave struck at the Hindus'—all, except 'the dragon of war', Malik Tughlaq who was furious on hearing of the distress and dishonour suffered by the house of this former master, 'the king of martyrs', 'Alā'uddīn.[3] Further details of the catastrophe were conveyed to the Malik by his son, Jūnā Khān through a messenger named 'Alī Yaghdī, and upon hearing them, he swore a terrible vengeance against the usurpers. His first step was to ask his son to join him at Deopalpur. This the latter did, fleeing away from Delhi accompanied by his faithful confidant, the son of Bahrām and a number of followers. Ḥasan (Khusrau Khān) was filled with consternation on learning about this flight and his ministers now advised him to put an end to the lives of the three surviving princes and thus root out the royal family. The unfortunate princes were accordingly dragged out from their prison and beheaded. Large sums of money were at the same time lavished on the nobles to silence them and to ensure their allegiance. Ḥasan, afraid of Tughlaq's revenge and concscious of his own weakness, was prepared to placate him by recognizing his independence in his province and even adding to the territory already under his sway;[4] but Ṣūfī Khan, one

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1 The word occurs in different forms in the poem, but the fact that it is made to rhyme with دماء in the following couplet, would show 'barāū' to be the correct form :—

ولی می شد ز هندوی براؤ   کماء من ینا بیع دماء (p. 128.)

Cf. Barni and others who call them 'parwārs'. Khusrau says :—

بر او و وصف هندویست سر باز   که هم سرباز باشد هم سرانداز (p. 19.)

بود این طایفه در پیش رایان   که جان بازند بر فرمانروایان

2 Their names are given as: Farid Khān, Abū Bakr Khān, 'Alī Khān, Bahā Khān, and 'Uthmān Khān, aged 15, 14, 8,8 and 5 years respectively.

3 مرا شاه شهیدان کاردان مرد   بمردی از پی این روز پرورد

(p. 37). This would again show that 'Alāuddīn was murdered by Kāfūr. Cf. supra.

4 Thus, Ḥasan told Tughlaq when brought before him as a prisoner (p. 150) :—

بگفتا روشنم بود این سراسر   که کس با تو نیارد شد برابر

کنم سوی تو اقلیمی ز عالم   کشاده بندمت حد تا بپالم

ولیک این گفت ایشان آب من برد   که باید زود بر کشت آتش خورد

of the most bitter opponents of Tughlaq and a staunch supporter of Ḥasan, advised him to send instead a strong warning to Tughlaq and to ask him to acknowledge Ḥasan's sovereignty. A messenger was sent forthwith. Tughlaq was so enraged on receiving the message that he killed the messenger and sent back a reply full of contempt and anger.

Tughlaq now sent messages to several governors and nobles inviting them to join him in ridding Delhi of the foul presence of Ḥasan and his accomplices. Among those thus approached were (1) Malik Bahrām Abīhi, the governor (mīr) of Uchcha; (2) Mughaltāi, the governor of Multan ; (3) Muhammad Shāh Lur, the governor of Siwistan ; (4) Yak Lakhī, the governor of Samana ; (5) Hoshang, the governor (muqṭa') of Jālūr ; and (6) 'Ainul-Mulk Multānī, who was in Delhi. Of these Malik Bahrām alone readily welcomed the suggestion of Tughlaq. Mughaltāi refused to join Tughlaq, but was killed by his own soldiers who were in favour of taking up arms with the malik and were secretly instigated by one Bahrām Sirāj. A similar fate overtook Yaklakhī who sent Tughlaq's message to Ḥasan and himself started for Delhi, but was overtaken and killed by his own men. Mohd. Shāh Lur was in a terrible plight when the message reached him, being besieged in the fortress by his mutinous soldiers. He, therefore, welcomed the message which served him as 'the talisman of deliverance',[1] for the insurgent soldiers, realizing the importance of the occasion, set him free and he marched out with them to join Tughlaq. He, however, did not reach Deopalpur in time. Hoshang's response was half-hearted. He promised to join Tughlaq, but delayed action until too late. 'Ainul-Mulk, afraid for his life, showed Tughlaq's letter to Ḥasan, but since the malik was anxious to win him over he sent him another message. 'Ainul-Mulk expressed his sympathy with Tughlaq's undertaking, and explaining his inability to take up arms openly, promised to refrain from supporting the usurper.

Tughlaq strengthened by Bahrām now started to make his warlike preparations in earnest. He was helped in this task by a large treasure from Multan that was being conveyed to Delhi but fell into the hands of his followers. On his side, Khusrau Khān watched these preparations with growing anxiety. Desiring to nip the trouble in the bud, he sent a large army[2] under his brother, Khān-i-Khānān, who marched up to Sarsuti and besieged the garrison that was under the command of Malik Maḥmūd. Tughlaq, hearing of this invasion, marched forth with his army and reached 'Alāpūr on the bank of the Beht (Bias). Khān-i-Khānān's army consisted of Musalmans and Hindus,— 'Hindu rāwats riding on Indian horses with flattering Brahmins raising the shouts of "harmahāde",[3] the "badānwats"[4] and "bhats" singing warlike songs ; the Barāwūs mounted on Arabian horses swift like the fiery smoke, their hair and moustaches hanging

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1 تعويذ خلاص.

2 According to Khusrau it was forty thousand strong : (p. 82):—

فراوان پیل و بسیاری خزانه — همه باخان خانان شد روانه
چو لشکر مستعد گشت و سوارش — گزین رزم قدر چل هزارش
دوان سوی ملک غازی روان کرد — زمین از بار لشکر ناتوان کرد

3 The reading in the text (p. 93) is بر مهاد, apparently a misprint.

4 بدانوت (a bard or minstrel ?), p. 93.

on their coal-black faces, wearing silk vests with silk "bahrmans" thrown over the shoulders, their foul bodies smeared with perfumes and their teeth black with the "tanbul" '. Among the Musalmans in his army were Amīr Qatla, who fell fighting in the battle ; Ṣūfī Khān; the 'Āriḍ Shāstī Khān Qurqmār and Yaklakhī.[1] In the ensuing battle the Khān's army was routed with great slaughter, and a dozen elephants with numerous prisoners and large booty fell into the hands of the victors. Tughlaq, however, was very kind to the prisoners and their wounded were carefully tended.

The stage was now set for the final episode of the drama. Tughlaq marched on towards Delhi, while Ḥasan made frantic and nervous preparations to meet him. Huge sums of money were distributed by the latter among his followers so that the 'treasures collected from Bākhtar and Khāwar'[2] were all scattered, the greater amount going to the Hindus. He then marched out from Delhi at the head of a huge army with a large number of elephants and set up his camp at Hauḍ-i-Khāṣ.[3] On his side, Tughlaq, marching through Hansi, Medinah, Rohtak, Mandoti, Pālam and Kishenpur[4] reached the Hauḍi-Sultāni,[5] and pitched his tents at Lahrāwat, the Jumna at his back and the city of Delhi in front. The two armies lay face to face overnight. On the following morning (Friday, the 30th of Rajab) Khusrau Khān formed his army in battle array. His right wing was under the command of Yūsuf Khān Ṣūfī, Kamāluddīn Ṣūfī, Shāstī Khān Qurqmār, the vakīl of the palace, Kāfūr known as the Muhrdār (Seal-bearer), Shihāb the nāib of Kāfūr, Qaiṣar the Ḥājib-i-Khāṣ, Malik Ambar, and the governor of Oudh Bahāuddīn Dabīr.[6] On the left there were his brother Khān-i-Khānān, Rāi Rāyān Randhūl, Gajbarmanāg ?,[7] Sunbul, now called Ḥātim Khān, 'the crafty' Māldeo and Tablighāi Yaghdı.[8] A host of Barāwūs with rāis and rānās, ten thousand strong, supported the line of elephants. Among them were Ahirdeo, Abardeo, Amardeo and 'demons upon demons'. Then

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1 Khusrau calls him Qadar Khān Yaklakhi apparently a successor of Yaklakhı of Samana who was killed on refusing to side with Tughlaq (see supra.)

دگر عارض که بد شکل گوارش (؟)
لقب شد شایسته (شاستی) خان قر قمارش

2 The rubric of this chapter runs thus :—

خزینه دادن و تاراج بیت المال از خسرو
پرآن گنجی که جمع از باختر کردند واز خاور

3 p. 112:—

بر آمد پیش حوض خاص دهلیز   سراپرده بر آمد هر طرف تیز

4 The text has : کسنبور (p. 115).

5 p. 115 :—

علم کز حوض سلطان عکس بنموذ   مناره حلهٔ بست از ظل ممدود
پر از دهلیز و خرگه شد سراسر   همه صحرای لهراوت ز لشکر

6 Probably a descendant of Shamsuddin Dabir, a patron of the poet.

7 The reading is doubtful.

8 Tablighai is probably a mistake for Tilighai (Teligha). Cf. supra,

there were Narsih, Sainsih, Parsih, Harmar, Bairimar, and Parmar, 'all like serpents and crying mār, mār. Their sandal-hued robes made the moist sandal-wood dry with shame. The snake, they say, coils round the sandal-tree, but here one saw the sandal coiled round snakes. The Hindus strutted haughtily with their long lances and spears looking like black deer with tall horns. An apostate dog appeared at their head like the false dawn in the dark night.' Their pigtails were tapering in form,[1] and many of them had hog's teeth hanging from their necks.[2] Meanwhile, true to his promise, 'Ain-ul-Mulk had stolen away from the royal camp and with his followers had set out on the way to his provincial seat at Ujjain.

Tughlaq was reluctant to start fighting at once as his men were tired after the long march from Deopalpur. But the advance of Hasan's army left him no choice.[3] After exhorting his men to be prepared to lay down their lives in their righteous cause and taking promises of loyalty from them, he arranged them for the battle. He placed his nephew Bahāuddaula, Malik Bahrām and 'Ali Haidar in the right wing, while the left wing was commanded by his son Fakhruddin (Jūna Khan), another nephew Asad, Shihabuddin, and Mir Shādi. Tughlaq himself was in the centre 'his body unclad in any armour, two lofty lances stuck in the ground on his right and left'. He ordered all his officers to tie peacock feathers to their banners so that the enemy might not be able to distinguish his flag from theirs.[4] The war-cry of his followers was to be the word 'Qalā'.[5]

The battle now started and Hasan's army made such a fierce onslaught that Tughlaq's followers were swept off their feet and their ranks were broken up. He, however, remained firm in the centre and rallying around him about five hundred men personally led a severe counter-attack. Cutting down all before him he reached right up to where Hasan stood under his canopy. A deft stroke of the veteran's sword brought the canopy down on his head and in panic he took to flight. His disheartened companions soon broke up in confusion and were slaughtered and plundered by Tughlaq's men. But at this juncture an army of 'more than a thousand black-visaged Barāwus, their faces painted

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1 p. 119 :—

ازان پرچم که هندوگاودم بست   بریش گاو دم صد اشتلم بست

'Parcham' may also mean 'flags'.

2 *Ibid.*:—

بسی دندان خوک آویخته هم   که ازشیران نه ایم اندروغا کم

3 p. 120 :—

نبود آن روز پر دل در پیٔ جنگ
چه چاره چون رسیدش کشتهٔ و تنگ

4 Peacock feathers had been the distinguishing mark of Tughlaq's flag in all his former campaigns. (The Editor misreading the text explains that this was done in order to distinguish Tughlaq's flags from those of the enemy (Introduction, p. 59). The text (p.122) has:—

که تا فرقی بداند خصم بدسیر   ز رایات ملک با رایت غیر

[The correct reading should be نداند.]

5 A curious and apparently meaningless word.

red' attacked the malik, crying 'Nārāyan' to the 'Allaho-Akbar' of the Musalmans.[1] In the ensuing fierce and hand-to-hand struggle, the malik's banners were all struck down. This was a critical moment for Tughlaq. He, however, stood his ground and drove back the Hindus with great slaughter.

He now asked a soldier to hold his banner aloft and another to go on beating a drum before him and promised them big rewards if they would remain firm and not leave his side. The sound of the drum and the sight of his ensign soon reassured his scattered followers and they flocked round him. Looking about him the malik now beheld another army that had apparently remained out of action and uninjured. This reserve detachment was led by Ṣūfī Khan. The malik at once swooped down upon it and the enemy took to their heels. The defeat of the Delhi forces was now complete. The flying followers of Hasan were hunted down mercilessly, although some consideration was shown to the Musalmans.[2] and huge treasures fell into the hands of the victors.

That night the malik remained in his camp outside the city. The following morning he rode in state to the royal palace and called all the surviving maliks and amirs to his presence to discuss with them the future of the throne of Delhi. He told them how he, a mere soldier of fortune, had been taken into service by Jalāluddin who raised him to a high position,[3] how he was further exalted by 'Alā'uddin and his brother Ulugh Khan, and how, therefore, he was shocked to hear about the destruction of the 'Alai family and had sworn to take revenge. He had, he said, no personal ambitions and wanted to go back to his old seat at Deopalpur to fight the Mongols as he had done so far.[4] But the nobles pointed out to him that there was no prince of the royal family left and that, under

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1 p. 128 :—

هزار افزون براو سیه رو
برو سرخی ز خون خویش روشوی
شد از غازی ملک بر چرخ تکبیر
ز گبر آواز نار این هوا گیر

2 According to Khusrau Tughlaq's army, consisting mainly of Turks, Ghuzz, Rūmis, Mughals, Tājiks, and Khorasanis, had also in it a number of Afghans and Hindu Khokhars, who showed no sympathy to the Musalmans (p. 128):—

مسلمان بر مسلمان تیغ کم زد   مگر هندوی کهو کهر کین قدم زد

3 p. 136

که من بودم یکی آزاده مردی   ز مهر ومه چشیده گرم و سردی
بلطفم شه جلال الدین مغفور   مقرب کرد نزدیک خود از دور

4 p. 141 :—

مرا دیو پال پور من پسند است   در آن بیرانه نور من بسند است

the circumstances, no one had a better claim to the throne than he who had distinguished himself in eighteen campaigns[1] and had now won the crowning victory against Khusrau Khān. After much hesitation and on repeated requests from the maliks, Tughlaq accepted the crown, and even before he had finally given his word, the three royal canopies were brought out and placed over his head. Thus on Saturday, the 1st of Sha'bān 720 H., Tughlaq ascended the throne with the title of Ghiyāthuddin (the Helper of the Faith).[2]

The story ends with the capture of Khusrau Khan and his brother. The latter had hidden himself in the house of an old woman. His hiding place was found out and Jūna Khan (now Ulugh Khan) took him to the king who ordered him to be paraded in disgrace through the streets of the city and then beheaded. Khusrau Khan was next captured in a garden where, deserted by his followers, weary and helpless he had found a temporary shelter from the pursuing horse-men. Ulugh Khan was again deputed to bring him to the king's presence. The prince, promising amnesty, brought him to his father who demanded from him an explanation for all his misdeeds, recounting them one by one. In reply Khusrau Khan could only plead that it was fate and his evil companions who had goaded him to do what he had done and said that he was thoroughly ashamed and repentent. He beseeched Tughlaq to spare his life and to punish him with blinding so that he could retire to some village to end his remaining days in peace. But Tughlaq said: 'What you ask is not hard to grant; but how can I spare your life? Since my enmity to you is for the sake of the faith (din) I must punish you as you deserve. If I pardon you, people will blame me for all the misery that has befallen them, and I shall be deviating from Islam and showing acquiescence to infidelity. All my labour and the hard-won victory shall thus be wasted and I shall feel ashamed before the souls of those noble persons in whose cause I had girt up my loins.' He ordered him to be taken away and beheaded at the very spot where he had killed his master, Mubārak Shāh. Thus after having been crowned for just two months the gory head of the unfortunate usurper rolled down the terrace of the Hazār-Sutūn to be trampled upon by his exultant enemies.

The text comes to an end here. A concluding chapter with its heading given in the manuscript as:

حدیث چتر و کشور دادن شهزادگان و آنگه

بشغل آراستن کار ملوک و بنده و چاکر

is entirely missing. The mathnawi, written in hexametric 'hazaj' (mahdhūf), does not offer many attractions to a student of literature. It is on the whole a plain narrative with but a few of those lively and imaginative passages that characterize Khusrau's other poetical works. The poet often indulges in quips and puns, some of which are certainly over-wrought and fail to amuse the reader. Nevertheless some of his descriptions are very fine and one comes across a number of extremely good similes.[1] Hindi words and

1 Most of these were faught against the Mongols. (See pp. 137-138 of the text. Note that تیمهو in line 2661 should read تیبو—the name of a Mongol prince.)

2 Khusrau Khan thus ruled for only two months. Cf. supra.

3 This chapter, as indicated by the rubric, must have dealt with the bestowal of titles and other honours by Tughlaq Shāh on his sons and the faithful maliks.

phrases have also been very aptly introduced.[2] The historical importance of the poem cannot be denied. Khusrau tells the story with characteristic frankness and rare accnracy. He gives us many particulars about one of the strangest and most tragic episodes in the chequered history of the throne of Delhi—particulars that we do not find elsewhere. Only one would wish that he had omitted certain unpleasant details that at places become positively gruesome. In any case, the discovery of the Tughlaq Nāmah would be welcomed not only by the literary admirers of Khusrau but by all students of Indian history.

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1 Note especially the following :—

به پیش آهنگ آن قلب معظم — ملک فخر الدول گشته مقدم (p. 89)
ملک دریا صفت در صف هیجا — خلف در پیش همچون موج دریا
همه‌شبها کسان‌در بیم‌و تشویش — چو پیر روستای را سر و ریش (p. 116)
روان باخشت وژوپین هندوگستاخ — چو آهوی سیه بالا زده شاخ (p. 119)
سگی مرتد بر آن گبران سپه دار — بسان صبح کاذب در شب تار (*Ibid*)
میان قلب مرتد چتر بر سر — ته چتر سماروغ خوردهٔ تر (p. 93)
گهی ماند و گهی رفت وگه افتاد — چو برگی در خزان از جنبش باد (p. 148)

2 See for instance :—

دکر هر مارو بیری مار و پر مار — سخن شان مار مارو سر بسر مار (p. 119)
یکی روئین تن اندر پیش‌شان تهال — دگر روئین تن اندر پیش شان نال (p. 119)
بهین راوت که در زور آزمای — بروی پیل گفتی موز پای (p. 128)
چو بکشادند تیر بی خطا را — بزاری گفت هے هے تیر ما را
یکی از راد تان هار گهر برد — یکی از گوش گوش آویز زر برد (p. 131)

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

The additional notes and corrections which were printed on page 255 of the 1st edition have been incorporated in the body of the text. These are, therefore, not printed separately here.

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